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A CHAPTER OF NATIONAL DISHONOR

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In a recent public statement ex-President Roosevelt declares: "It must be a matter of pride to every honest American proud of the good name of his country, that the acquisition of the [Panama] canal in all its details was as free from scandal as the public acts of George Washington or Abraham Lincoln." "The interests of the American people demanded that I should act exactly as I did act." "Every action taken was not merely proper, but was carried out in accordance with the highest, finest, and nicest standards of public and governmental ethics." "The [1903] orders to the American naval officers were to maintain free and uninterrupted transit across the Isthmus and, with that purpose, to prevent the landing of armed forces with hostile intent at any point within fifty miles of Panama. These orders were precisely such as had been issued again and again in preceding years, 1900, 1901, and 1902, for instance." "Every man who at any stage has opposed or condemned the action actually taken in acquiring the right to dig the canal has really been the opponent of any and every effort that could ever have been made to dig the canal." "Not only was the course followed as regards Panama right in every detail and at every point, but there could have been no variation from this course except for the worse. We not only did what was technically justifiable,

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but what we did was demanded by every ethical consideration, national and international." "We did harm to no one, save as harm is done to a bandit by a policeman who deprives him of his chance for blackmail." "The United States has many honorable chapters in its history, but no more honorable chapter than that which tells of the way in which our right to dig the Panama Canal was secured, and of the manner in which the work has been carried out."

In an address previously delivered at the "Charter Day" exercises of the University of California, Mr. Roosevelt proudly declared that the securing of that "right" was his personal act. As reported, he then said: "I am interested in the Panama Canal because I started it. If I had followed traditional, conservative methods, I would have submitted a dignified state paper of probably two hundred pages to Congress, and the debate on it would have been going on yet; but I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate; and while the debate goes on the canal does also."

And previous to that California address, in his famous message to Congress of January 4, 1904, President Roosevelt wrote: "When this government submitted to Colombia the Hay-Herran treaty (January 22, 1903), it was already settled that the canal should be built. The time for delay, the time for permitting any government of anti-social spirit and of imperfect development to bar the work was past." "I have not denied, nor do I wish to deny, either the validity or the propriety of the general rule that a new State should not be recognized as independent till it has shown its ability to maintain its independence." "But like the principle from which it is deduced, the rule is subject to exceptions; and there are in my opinion clear and imperative reasons why a departure from it was justified and even required in the present instance. These reasons embrace, first, our treaty rights; second, our national interests and safety; and third, the interests of collective civilization." "The United States in intervening, with or without Colombia's consent, for protection of the transit, has disclaimed any duty to defend the Colombian Government against domestic insurrection or against the erection of an independent government on the Isthmus of Panama." "That our position as the mandatary of civilization has been by no means misconceived is shown by the promptitude with which

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the Powers have, one after another, followed our lead in recognizing Panama as an independent state."

It will be more than worth while to examine in the light of ethical principle and international law, of recorded fact and diplomatic precedent, of national honor and treaty pledge, these several statements in which personal boasting, sweeping assertion, and a perfervid invoking of high morality are so interwoven. To present individual character in its due disclosure will be something; but to see to it that history is not belied, and that the requirements of justice are not travestied, will be far more.

Certain fundamental considerations must be taken into account in any worthy discussion of the conduct of governments. First, that diplomacy now stands committed to " the extending of the empire of law and the strengthening of an appreciation of public justice." Second, that " international jurisprudence is based on the moral law and embodies the consensus of civilized peoples with regard to their reciprocal rights and duties." Third, that " all nations stand on an equality of rights—the old and the new, the large and the small, monarchies and republics." It is, accordingly, in view of these considerations, that the Panama imbroglio of 1903 is to be judged.

As one of the parties to that imbroglio was the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada), there is needed a brief statement of Colombia's history. The United States of Colombia, afterward the Republic of Colombia, was fully established in 1863. Her constitution was patterned on that of the United States of America. Her area, previous to the dismemberment of 1903, was hardly less than 500,000 square miles, or more than twice the area of Spain and Portugal combined. Her population was at least 4,000,000, or approximately twice that of Norway. Bordering on both the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific, her coast line was more than a thousand miles, bountifully provided with convenient bays and excellent harbors. Extensive and varied mineral products were elements in her material wealth. But the rarest of her properties, the gem of her domain, was the province of Panama, northernmost of her possessions, at the extreme north of the southern continent. Included in that province was the Isthmus of Panama, narrowest barrier between the two oceans. As

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the American continents were discovered in the search for a westward passage from Europe to Asia, so, through the centuries subsequent to that discovery, the Isthmus of Panama was regarded as the likeliest route for an inter-oceanic canal.

In 1855 an Isthmian railroad was completed along a course substantially the same as must be taken by a waterway. In 1881 a French company undertook the construction of a canal, both railroad and canal having been neutralized. The original construction company failed and a "New Panama Company" was formed to take over the existing canal rights and obligations, and to complete the undertaking. But the new company also proved unequal to the task; and as early as 1897 it was realized that no private resources would be adequate, and that no government save that of the United States was wholly competent. It was understood that the United States was willing to proceed upon certain conditions.

But meantime, even antedating the establishing of the United States of Colombia, a treaty had been entered into between the United States of America and the government of that same country, to wit: the Republic of New Granada. It was entitled "A treaty of peace, amity, navigation, and commerce." It was negotiated by the respective administrations on December 12, 1846, and was ratified and proclaimed in June, 1848. The preamble reads:

"The United States of North America and the Republic of New Granada in South America, desiring to make lasting and firm the friendship and good understanding which happily exist between both nations, have resolved to fix in a manner clear, distinct, and positive the rules which shall in the future be religiously observed between each other, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace and friendship, commerce and navigation.

. . . . . .

"Article I. There shall be a perfect, firm, and inviolable peace and sincere friendship between the United States of America and the Republic of New Granada in all the extent of their possessions and territories, and between their citizens respectively without distinction of person or places.

. . . . . .

"Article XXXV. The United States of America and the Republic of New Granada, desiring to make as endurable as possible the relations which are to be established between the two parties by virtue of this treaty, have declared solemnly and do agree to the following points:

"First.

. . . . . .

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"In order to secure to themselves the tranquil and constant enjoyment of these advantages, and as an especial compensation for the said advantages and for the favors they have acquired by Articles IV., V., and VI. of this treaty (articles which secure to the United States reciprocal privileges of importation and tonnage dues, and equal customs duties) the United States guarantee positively and efficaciously to New Granada, by the present stipulation, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in a future time while this treaty exists; and in consequence the United States also guarantee in the same manner the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory.

"Second. The present treaty shall remain in full force and vigor for the term of twenty years from the day of the exchange of ratifications.

. . . . . .

"Third. Notwithstanding the foregoing, if neither party notifies to the other its intention of reforming any of or all the articles of this treaty twelve months before the expiration of the twenty years specified above, the said treaty shall continue binding on both parties beyond the said twenty years, until twelve months from the time that one of the parties notifies its intention of proceeding to a reform.

. . . . . .

"Sixth. Any special or remarkable advantages that the one or the other power may enjoy from the foregoing stipulations are and ought to be always understood in virtue and in compensation of the obligations they have just contracted, and which have been specified in the first number of this article."

Such is the solemn treaty of 1846; a treaty "to make lasting and firm the friendship and good understanding which happily exist between the United States and New Granada" (now Colombia), whose stipulations were to be "*religiously observed*"; a treaty decreeing "a perfect, firm, and inviolable peace and sincere friendship" between the two nations; a treaty in which, as compensation for specified "advantages and favors," the United States "positively and efficaciously" guaranteed to New Granada "the perfect neutrality of the Isthmus" and, in the same manner, "the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory"; a treaty terminable on twelve-months' notice. The practical interpretation and application of the treaty are plain.

Under date of February 10, 1847, only two months after the initiation of the treaty, President Polk, in a special message to the Senate, said:

"There does not appear any other effectual means of securing to all nations the advantages of this important passage, but the guarantee of great commercial powers that the Isthmus shall be neutral territory. . . .

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"The guarantee of the sovereignty of New Granada over the Isthmus is a natural consequence of this neutrality. . . . New Granada would not yield this province that it might become a neutral State; and if she should, it is not sufficiently populous or wealthy to establish or maintain an independent sovereignty. But a civil government must exist there to protect the works which shall be constructed. New Granada is not a power which will excite the jealousy of any nation."

The neutrality guaranteed to New Granada undoubtedly referred to foreign nations only. It was against interference by an outside government, interference which might, among other evil results, interrupt the transit from the one to the other sea. Similarly the guarantee of New Granada's "rights of sovereignty and property" was with primary reference to an invasion by a foreign power, which might imperil the Isthmian transit. And since the paramount issue in the case of both the neutrality and sovereignty which the United States guaranteed was the safeguarding of the transit, there was a valid implication that the United States, on due occasion and especially at New Granada's request, would give aid against transit interference from any source whatever, whether foreign or domestic.

The direct authority, however, to be cited by the United States as warrant for the aid actually given to New Granada (now Colombia) in the maintenance of free Isthmian transit, as also the clear ground of the duty of the United States to render such aid, is in the fact that by the treaty of 1846 New Granada distinctly pledged herself to keep the said transit inviolate for the free use of the government and citizens of the United States.

"The government of New Granada guarantees to the government of the United States that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama upon any modes of transportation which now exist, or that may be hereafter constructed, shall be open and free to the government and citizens of the United States, and for the transportation of any articles of lawful commerce belonging to the citizens of the United States."

That guarantee by New Granada, in a treaty of "peace, amity, navigation, and commerce," a treaty "to make lasting and firm the friendship and good understanding" of the two nations, established a relation between the United States and New Granada, in which mutual aid became not only rightful, but also assured. Henceforth it was to be implicitly relied upon that if the weaker nation was tem-

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porarily incapable of a perfect fulfilment of its guarantee, the stronger nation would, upon request, lend assistance. In New Granada's guarantee, acknowledged by the United States as an "advantage and favor" received, is the original and sufficing basis for the right and obligation of helpful interference by the United States, in the emergency of transit interruption. A corroborative, complementary basis also exists in the avowed motive and purpose of the counter guarantee by the United States of New Granada's neutrality and sovereignty—"with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in a future time while this treaty exists." Yet the prime basis lies in New Granada's pledge which the United States gratefully accepted.

But beyond the bounds of such reciprocal right and obligation the United States might not go. In emergencies other than the disturbance of interoceanic transit, or peril to the persons and possessions of Americans, there might be no intervention in the affairs of New Granada (now Colombia). By the law of nations and the terms of the treaty itself, Colombia as the successor of New Granada was the sovereign peer of the United States. Save for the main purpose of protecting free transit and thus safeguarding her own interests in such transit, the United States might no more land her forces on Colombia's soil, or even threaten such landing, than she might land her forces, or threaten to land them, on the soil of Russia or Japan.

Nor is even this the full measure of the restraint which the Executive of the United States was bound to recognize and respect. It has been conceded that the guaranteed neutrality and sovereignty had reference to foreign powers. But it is to be borne in mind that in guaranteeing Colombia's neutrality and sovereignty as against foreign powers, the United States distinctly decreed and surpassingly emphasized her own exclusion from acts of invasion. She determinately erected an impassable barrier against her own interference with Colombia's independent authority. And this, in the simple fact that she herself was a "foreign nation"! The treaty inhibition affected her, first of all. She virtually named herself in the guarantee; and the guarantor, being thus included in the inhibition, was, beyond all others, forbidden to violate its terms. Otherwise it were as if the guardian of a dependent child should record his

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oath and give his bond to defend his charge against all unlawful acts, and then should himself expropriate his ward's possessions and assume dictatorial control. It were as if an officer of the law sworn to uphold the citizen's rights, and to lay violent hands on no man save by statutory warrant and command, should wantonly assail the helpless and ruthlessly strike down the unoffending. Being a nation foreign to Colombia, the United States, in her "positive and efficacious" guarantee, freely placed herself under supreme restraint.

With the civil wars of Colombia the United States had no concern, save as they harmfully affected the persons or possessions of American citizens, or interrupted or endangered Isthmian transit and traffic. Yet on November 6, 1903, Colombia was informed that

> "The President holds that he is bound to see that the peaceable traffic of the world across the Isthmus of Panama shall not longer be disturbed by a constant succession of unnecessary and wasteful civil wars."

The official records are open. Those records will either uphold the Presidential assertion or they will prove it to be wild and inexcusable. Let it be seen to what extent from the establishing of the United States of Colombia in 1863 to the Panama imbroglio of 1903, Isthmian transit was so disturbed that the interference of the United States was required!

In March, 1865, our Panama consul was apprehensive of harm from local lawlessness, and a few marines guarded the consul and other citizens for thirteen hours. In May, 1873, a small force of marines and sailors protected the persons and property of American citizens in Panama for fifteen days. In September of the same year, a similar service was rendered for sixteen days. In January, 1885, twelve marines guarded property in Colon for thirteen and one-half hours. Later in the same year, Isthmian transit was seriously interrupted and forces were landed, for fifty-six days. Toward the close of 1901, protection of transit was required for fourteen days. In the autumn of 1902 transit was guarded for sixty-two days.

Thus during full forty years, United States forces were employed in only seven instances and for a total periol of 164 days. In each case the forces were employed with Colombia's approval. In no case was there fighting, the

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mere precautionary measures being sufficient. In no case did the force exceed 824 men. Moreover, in four out of the seven instances there was no "interruption of transit," only an apprehension of peril to persons and property. In fine, Isthmian transit was interrupted in only three instances in the forty years of Colombia's history, and for only 132 days!

Yet the President officially represented that Isthmian transit had been disturbed almost incessantly for many years; that interruption was the chronic condition. A constant disturbing cause bringing about a virtually constant disturbance! In the comparison, the increase of Falstaff's men in buckram—"eleven grown out of two"—was accuracy itself: three reduplicated into an implied constant succession! What of the author of such assertions? It would appear that he then took for his motto, Throw mud vigorously, some of it will stick—"*Asperge fortiter, aliquid adhærebit.*" That was on November 6, 1903.

Meantime, on June 25, 1902, the President gave his approval to the Act commonly called the "Spooner Act," looking toward the construction of an Isthmian canal. That act embodied the decision of the United States in favor of the Panama route. It authorized the President to acquire, if possible, at a cost not to exceed a certain sum, "the rights, privileges, franchises, concessions," and all other assets of the "New Panama Company"; and to obtain from Colombia on such terms as he considered to be fair, perpetual control (not cession) for canal purposes of a strip of land from ocean to ocean not less than six miles wide, such control to include the emergent defense of the canal, the instituting of needful legal tribunals, and the making and enforcing of the requisite police and sanitary regulations. The act also provided that if, from the Canal Company and the Colombian Government, the President was unable to obtain satisfactory terms within a reasonable time, the route known as the "Nicaragua Route" should be adopted.

After the passage of the "Spooner Act," the Colombian Administration—not Colombia *in propria persona,* but only the Colombian Administration—initiated negotiations in favor and furtherance of the Panama route. Those negotiations led, on January 22, 1903, to the well-known "Hay-Herran Convention." In that convention Colombia, was to

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give to the United States jurisdiction over the desired strip of land, and to concede the right to construct and operate a canal for the period of one hundred years, renewable at the option of the United States for periods of a similar duration. The convention reaffirmed Article XXXV of the treaty of 1846, and explicitly provided that only in exceptional circumstances, on account of unforeseen or imminent danger to the canal, railways, or other works, or to the lives and property of the persons engaged upon them, should the United States employ its armed forces, without previously obtaining the consent of Colombia; and that as soon as sufficient Colombian forces should arrive, those of the United States should be withdrawn. But the Hay-Herran convention being simply an agreement between the respective administrations, was necessarily dependent for its vital force upon its ratification by the respective Senates. It was expressly stipulated that

"The convention, when signed by the contracting parties, shall be ratified in conformity with the laws of the respective countries."

The Washington Administration has urged that any two governments, in initiating a treaty, "bind themselves, pending its ratification, not only not to oppose its consummation, but also to do nothing in contravention of its terms." That is true of governments in the limited sense of the Executive, the Administration, but it does not apply to the attitude and act of a nation's congress; and in the final event the ratifying power is to proceed in accordance with its own reasoning and conviction, no matter what administrations may have stipulated or done. Furthermore, as the Canal Company could, in no case, transfer its rights and possessions, without the consent of Colombia, the first article of the Hay-Herran convention provides:

"The government of Colombia authorizes the New Panama Canal Company to sell and transfer to the United States its rights, privileges, properties, and concessions, as well as the Panama Railroad and all the shares or parts of the shares of that company."

Of course, that and the other provisions of the administrational agreement were to come before the Colombian Senate for consideration; and that Senate, like any other independent legislature, was bound to take full cognizance of the matter, and freely discuss all offered amendments. Yet

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even before the Colombian Senate convened, the American minister to Colombia, on April 24, 1903, addressed the following note to the Colombian Minister of Foreign Relations:

"I am directed to inform your Excellency, if the point should be raised, that everything relative to this matter is included in the convention recently signed between Colombia and the United States, and that, furthermore, any modification would be violative of the 'Spooner Act' and therefore inadmissible."

Again, and still in advance of the session of the Colombian Senate, the Minister of Foreign Relations was advised that

"If Colombia should now reject the treaty or unduly delay its ratification, the friendly feeling between the two countries would be so seriously compromised that action might be taken by the Congress next winter which every friend of Colombia would regret."

And after the Colombian Senate was in session, on August 5, 1903, further warning was sent through the Colombian Minister of Foreign Relations, to the effect that apparently the force of the notes of April 24th and June 13th had not been duly appreciated as "the final expression of the opinion or intentions" of the Washington Government. The warning proceeded:

"If Colombia desires to maintain the friendly relations which at present exist between the two countries, and at the same time to secure for herself the extraordinary advantages that are to be produced for her, . . . the present treaty will have to be ratified exactly in its present form, without amendment whatsoever."

Yet the Hay-Herran instrument itself provided that "The convention, when signed by the contracting parties, shall be ratified in conformity with the laws of the respective countries." Assuredly! Else the mere Executive, the mere Administration, would have full and final authority in matters involving the nation's vital interests—to a fatal usurpation of the power of the Congress. The Senate of the United States has again and again amended, and rejected, treaties which had been duly negotiated by the Administration. Still, the Washington Administration peremptorily forbade Colombia's Senate either to amend or reject!

Was this attempted coercion "not only technically justifiable, but demanded by every ethical consideration national and international"? Was it "as free from scandal as the public acts of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln"? In utmost soberness of inquiry, did any civilized repre-

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sentative of superior power ever indulge in browbeating so pitiable and so pitiless? Can such cowardly disrespect be matched in the annals of treaty-making nations? And that, on the part of the Executive of a great republic which professed to do justice and to love mercy, and against a nation helpless, yet standing in a relation of acknowledged equality of sovereignty and independence! A nation at whose hands we had confessedly received important "advantages and favors"! A nation to which we were bound by an inviolable treaty of "peace and amity," of "friendship and good understanding," a treaty whose stipulations were to be "religiously observed"! That nation coolly informed that if, in the exercise of her indisputable prerogative, she followed what might be her patriotic judgment, she should suffer a retribution whereat the ears of them that heard should tingle!

What must be the character and culture of the President who proudly affirms that such was his highest conception of what was "demanded by every ethical consideration," and should be "a matter of pride to every honest American"?

After long and vehement debate, and postponement to an extra session, the American Senate, on March 17, 1903, ratified the treaty. After long and earnest debate, the Colombian Senate, on August 12, 1903, despite the President's unveiled threat, refused ratification, and adjourned on October 31st.

It is to be distinctly observed at this point that, while there was no stipulation for the absolute cession to the United States of the Canal Zone, there was to be perpetual occupancy and jurisdiction—periods of one hundred years, with the option of renewal by the United States, but no option of rejection by Colombia—the construction of vast and permanent works, the right to safeguard those works, along with police and sanitary control. The constitutional authorities in the Colombian Senate held that such a grant, although less than absolute cession, was contrary to the nation's organic law. They regarded it as, so far forth, a surrender of national sovereignty, notwithstanding the statement that "the United States freely acknowledges and recognizes this sovereignty [of Colombia] and disavows any intention to impair it in any way whatever." Would the constitutional authorities in the Senate of the United States be likely to hold otherwise in case it was proposed to grant

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to a foreign power a similarly endless occupancy and jurisdiction of a part of our national domain? Would they admit that their discussion of that issue might fairly be regarded as factious and deceitful? Yet, as has been pointed out, it was proposed in the deliberations of the Colombian Senate so to amend the constitution that the apprehended legal objection should be removed!

As for the considerations which prompted the adverse action of the Colombian Senate, it may be said that in any case they were properly beyond our official animadversion or even official discussion. High-minded diplomacy usually holds in courteous respect the motives which may have inspired the legislative act of a sovereign nation. Yet in addressing Colombia our Administration ascribed to her the basest of motives. The mere opinion of our minister to Colombia was cited as showing that the Senate's discussions were prolonged, and the ratification finally rejected, with the sordid view of holding up the construction of an Isthmian waterway, and thus being the better able to exact terms from the United States. Further, what was only a report of the Colombian Senate's "Committee on the Panama Canal" was officially quoted as proof of that accusatory opinion. The following statement was published in a rejoinder to Colombia's Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington:

"By a report of the majority of the Panama Canal Committee, read in the Colombian Senate on the 14th of October last, it was recommended that a bill which had been introduced to authorize the government to enter upon new negotiations should be indefinitely postponed. The reason for this recommendation is disclosed in the same report. . . . By a treaty concluded April 4, 1893, the original concession to the Panama Canal Company was extended until December 31, 1904. The report [of the Colombian Senate's Committee] affirms that the aspect of the question would be entirely changed in consequence of the fact that when a year later the Colombian Congress should meet in ordinary session the extension of 1893 would have expired and every concession with it. In that case . . . the Republic would become the possessor or owner, without any need of a previous judicial decision and without any indemnity, of the canal itself and of the adjuncts which belong to it; and would not only be able to contract without any impediments, but would be in more clear, more definite, and more advantageous possession both legally and materially."

The Administration's official statement continues:

"This programme, if not expressly, was at least tacitly adopted by the Colombian Congress. . . . It was a scheme to which this government could not possibly become a party."

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And that, although the Colombian Senate was a national legislature and had acted within its sovereign rights.

Is it conceivable that the President would have cast such innuendoes and accusations in the face of Great Britain or Germany or France? Would he have tolerated such open affront on the part of any other nation? To ask the questions is to answer them. The physical weakness of Colombia should have been her triple protection. Toward helplessness power should have felt itself bound by a chivalrous *noblesse oblige*. It is safe to say that never in the previous history of civilized diplomacy was there such a public, official characterization by one nation of another nation's motives for legislative action. Therein the President's conduct was audaciously wrong.

At this point the President vainly seeks his vindication by a reference to practical results. He says:

"Be it remembered that unless I had acted exactly as I did act, there would now be no Panama Canal. . . . Every man who at any stage has opposed or condemned the action actually taken in acquiring the right to dig the canal has really been the opponent of any and every effort that could ever have been made to dig the canal."

Here is a veritable "Daniel come to judgment"! The great Burke professed his inability to draw a valid indictment against the people of a whole nation; but this self-eulogizer finds no difficulty in denouncing the innumerable critics of his Panama action under the one base category of those wishing to deprive the world forever of a waterway from the one to the other sea! No matter how many the dissidents, nor how worthy their reputation and achievements, nor how earnestly explicit their declaration that they yielded to none in their desire for interoceanic navigation, they are charged with hostility to any Panama Canal whatever!

How insensate the President's charge! As if those who were confident that Colombia would appreciate decent treatment, and would agree to amended but still reasonable terms, were thus confident without a vestige of reason! He himself had already declared:

"Colombia, after having rejected the treaty in spite of our protests and warning when it was in her power to accept it, has since shown the utmost eagerness to accept the same treaty if only the *status quo* could be restored."

He had furthermore, and for his own purposes, quoted a

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Colombian high official as affirming, on November 6, 1903—the very day on which the Panama insurgents were recognized as having established a new nation—in a note to the American minister at Bogota, that on certain conditions

"The Colombian government will declare martial law and, by virtue of vested constitutional authority when public order is disturbed, will approve by decree the ratification of the canal treaty as signed; or, if the government of the United States prefers, will call extra session of Congress with new and friendly members next May, to approve the treaty."

The American minister at Bogota adds, "There is a great reaction in favor of the treaty." On January 6, 1904, Colombia's Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington officially declared:

"The necessity of the canal is so well recognized in Colombia that it was proposed in the discussion in the Senate to amend the constitution in order to remove [what Colombia regarded as] the constitutional difficulties; and the Minister of Foreign Relations, after the sessions of Congress were closed, directed the chargé d'affaires to advise the Washington government that the government of Colombia was ready to enter into renewed negotiations for a canal convention."

He further averred that the fact of the rejection of the Hay-Herran convention

"does not mean that we have been opposed, nor that we are opposed, to the realization of the greatest undertaking of the kind which the past and future centuries have seen or will see. . . . I have been directed to declare to your government that Colombia, earnestly wishing that the work of the canal be carried into effect, not only because it suits her interests, but also that of the commerce of the world, is disposed to enter into arrangements that would secure for the United States the execution and ownership of the said work. . . . The charge made against the government of Colombia that it proposes to cancel the concession of the French Company vanishes as soon as it is known that under the latest concession granted by Colombia the said concession would not lapse until the year 1910.

Who can doubt that if the President had curbed his angry impatience, and withheld his irritating, insolent threats, Colombia's Senate would have acceded to terms rightly advantageous to both countries? Who disbelieves that if, as was our acknowledged, perfect right, we had invoked the third "point" of Article XXXV of the treaty of 1846—to wit,

"The said treaty shall be binding on both parties until twelve months from the time that one of the parties notifies its intention of proceeding to a reform"—

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Colombia would have been duly impressed with the gravity of her situation, and have earnestly striven to come to terms with her indispensable ally? Accordingly, it is pure hardihood for the President to affirm, "Unless I had acted exactly as I did act, there would now be no canal." It is simple slander, silly slander, when he says, "Every man who at any stage has opposed or condemned the action actually taken in acquiring the right to dig the canal has really been the opponent of any and every effort that could ever have been made to dig the canal." His critics asked that the right to dig the canal might be acquired by lawful means. Being enthusiastically in favor of an interoceanic waterway, they only demanded that "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind," a substantial regard for international law and treaty obligations, should guide the acts of the Washington Administration. It certainly is not too much to suppose that if their protests had been heeded, we should now have a canal whose title would be wholly free from stain, and whose advantages might be enjoyed with complete self-respect.

In this chapter of national dishonor there are still other transactions to be considered.

The President, according to his published admission, was aware as early as August, 1903, that the secession of the Province of Panama was secretly fomented. He has openly declared that, toward the end of October, the attempt "appeared to be an imminent probability." In his message to Congress, of January 4, 1904, he said:

> "In view of these facts I directed the Navy Department to issue instructions such as would insure our having ships within easy reach of the Isthmus, in the event of need arising. . . . On November 2d the following instructions were sent to the commanders of the *Boston, Nashville,* and *Dixie:* 'Maintain free and uninterrupted transit. . . . Prevent landing of any armed force, either government or insurgent, within fifty miles of Panama.'"

That is, in time of profound peace between Colombia and the United States; while the treaty of "peace and amity," of "friendship and good understanding," was in undisturbed force; while it was still written, "There shall be a perfect, firm, and inviolable peace and sincere friendship"; while the neutrality and sovereignty of Colombia were solemnly and gratefully guaranteed by the United States as

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against interference by foreign powers, and therefore against interference by the United States herself; while Isthmian transit was absolutely free from interruption; while there was no slightest overt act on the part of the would-be seceders; and while Colombia's acquiescence had not been so much as requested, Colombia was forcefully forbidden to land her own troops within fifty miles of the city of Panama, where, if anywhere, the secession would be attempted! In other words, the success of the revolt, whenever it might occur, was resistlessly decreed. When the President of the United States issued the "fifty-mile order" of November 2, 1903, he virtually declared war against the very nation of which the United States was the sworn ally, and to which the United States was united by obligations admittedly paramount. He bound Colombia hand and foot and delivered her over to her domestic foes.

Yet the President, in his floundering attempts at self-defence, declares that

> "These orders were precisely such as had been issued again and again in preceding years—1900, 1901, and 1902, for instance."

But no identity, nor even resemblance, appears when the orders of those preceding years are brought into comparison. Here is the record. On July 25, 1900, our consul at Panama was thus instructed:

> "You are directed to protest against any act of hostility which may involve or imperil the safe and peaceful transit of persons or property across the Isthmus of Panama. The bombardment of Panama would have this effect, and the United States must insist upon the neutrality of the Isthmus as guaranteed by the treaty."

Here was simply a protest in advance of possible harm. It was merely a warning of Colombia that she would pursue a certain course upon her own responsibility, and that the United States would interfere if free transit was interrupted. On November 20, 1901, this telegram was sent to our Panama consul:

> "Notify all parties molesting or interfering with free transit across the Isthmus that such interference must cease, and that the United States will prevent the interruption of traffic upon the railroad. Consult with captain of the *Iowa,* who will be instructed to land marines if necessary for the protection of the railroad in accordance with the treaty rights and obligations of the United States."

That order went no further than to demand that interruption of transit should cease, and to provide means, in case

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of necessity, for enforcing the demand. On September 12, 1902, the commander of the *Ranger*, then at Panama, was notified:

"The United States guarantees perfect neutrality of Isthmus, and that a free transit from sea to sea be not interrupted or embarrassed. . . . Any transportation of troops which might contravene these provisions of treaty should not be sanctioned by you, nor should use of road be permitted which might convert the line of transit into theater of hostility."

Here, again, was a merely admonitory order sent to forestall any use of the transit line which would destroy its legitimate function by making it, unnecessarily, the scene of armed conflict.

Thus the official record shows that, so far from countenancing the "fifty-mile order," the asserted precedents clearly condemned it. In direct refutation of the President's declaration is the fact that the "previous orders" were: first, in accordance with Colombia's understanding and wish; second, that they sought, in authorized ways, to safeguard Isthmian transit from critically impending or actual interruption; third, that they constituted no assault upon either the supreme jurisdiction or the supremely free action of Colombia. The "fifty-mile order" grossly offended in all these respects. It was known to be infinitely adhorrent to Colombia as a sovereign nation; it had prime reference to an apprehended political insurrection against Colombia's territorial integrity and national control, with only consequential reference to a possible transit interruption; it laid essentially violent hands on Colombia's sovereignty; it forcibly prevented Colombia from taking precautionary measures; it was a virtual declaration of war. Colombia was suddenly, peremptorily restrained from the free disposition of her own troops on her own soil. The venerable treaty whose stipulations were to be "*religiously observed*" was, so far forth, flung aside as vacuous and its covenants trampled in the dust!

The President's search for justifying precedents was foredoomed to failure. There was a vast improbability that the history of the United States would furnish any analogy of such despotism. The President should have known beforehand—doubtless he did know—that the outrage was wholly novel, conspicuous in its infamous isolation. An unoffending ally fettered and gyved, in forecast of her instinctive movement for self-preservation! The Presi-

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dent's act was truly monumental. It was altogether and characteristically his own.

Imagine that when the Confederate forces threatened Washington, a nation whose strength outmeasured ours as ours outmeasured Colombia's had forbidden our Government to send troops within fifty miles of the endangered capital. Imagine that the dictating nation was bound to us by treaty pledges of "inviolable peace and sincere friendship." Imagine that our Government had guaranteed that nation, to the effect that its legation in Washington should not be imperiled. Yet that when we thought to safeguard the capital from secession's deadly attack — all legations being then unmolested, and it being by no means sure that, even if there was armed conflict, any legation would be injured—our overawing ally forcibly prevented our proposed defensive action, thus handing us over to our assailants; making our disruption a certainty foregone and absolute! What, in that case, would have been our feeling and judgment? What would have been the verdict of the civilized world? Would it have been conceded by us, or by anybody, that the interdict was other than atrocious? On the very face of it, and in its very nature, the peremptory ban would appear as unspeakably abusive.

But the President tells us that he then knew, and now knows, no standard of public and governmental ethics "higher, or finer, or nicer"! Perhaps he is entitled to the plea.

The "fifty-mile order," however, was destined to be outdone. On the succeeding day, November 3, 1903, the following order was sent to the commander of the *Nashville* at Colon:

> "In the interests of peace make every effort to prevent government troops at Colon from proceeding to Panama. The transit of the Isthmus must be kept open and order maintained."

The President's repressive determination was not to be balked. As yet, our Panama consul had forwarded only the news of what he called an "uprising" in that one city! Yet the President issued an order preventing Colombia from moving her own troops, *viâ* her own railway, from her own Colon to her own Panama! So far as concerned their freedom to go to the scene of danger, Colombia's troops were reconcentradoed and manacled! Let it still be borne

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in mind that there was no interruption of transit by either loyalist or insurgent. Let it be taken into account that the President himself, under the pretense of maintaining peace and order when peace and order perfectly prevailed, violently interrupted free transit, absolutely closing it to the forces of sovereign Colombia, a treaty-bound ally of the United States!

In self-exculpation, the President has declared that

> "The theory that the treaty obliged the government of the United States to protect Colombia against domestic insurrection or its consequences finds no support in the record, and is in its nature inadmissible."

Well said! But, conversely, the treaty did obligate the Government of the United States not to take sides against Colombia in any conflict she might have with the agents of domestic insurrection. In both its letter and spirit the treaty did bind the President of the United States not to predoom an ally to defeat in the face of attempted dismemberment. The treaty did make it inevitable that such crushing hostility should forever appear as gratuitous perfidy.

What the Washington Government should have done, in place of the cruel "fifty-mile order" and the still more cruel repression of the following day, was to respect Colombia's right to a perfectly free moving of her troops, whether overland or by sea, or by her Isthmian railway; at the same time notifying Colombia that any interruption by her of Isthmian transit, if not absolutely necessary to her self-protection, would be prevented by American forces. But the President, in a deliberate, calculating forecast of the Panama insurrection, joined forces with the seceders and conquered Colombia in the interest of secession.

The true quality of the President's procedure will be the more clearly perceived through a moment's consideration of what, in such a crisis, Colombia herself might rightfully have done. Colombia had the indisputable right to defend herself against disruption. In case of actual civil war or its perceived imminence, especially civil war involving territorial integrity, any nation may take such measures, within the recognized rules of warfare, as that nation may deem needful. The right of self-preservation is elemental. It inheres not only in national sovereignty, but also in national existence. Not even treaty stipulations can be set up in contravention of it. Accordingly, Colombia, if threatened

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by secession, might herself, were it in the imperative interests of self-preservation, close Isthmian transit to all except her own troops. Or she might close it to all except herself and the United States. Or she might impose special conditions to which everybody using the transit must temporarily conform. In other phrase, Colombia if vitally assailed might take supreme control of all the resources within her domain. Her inherent sovereignty, whether guaranteed or not, would give her a right paramount to the rights of even her allies. In fine, in the emergency of self-preservation the control of Isthmian transit was completely Colombia's. In that case, the President of the United States was authorized to do no more than see to it that Colombia's interruption, or closure, of transit was neither wantonly imposed nor unreasonably prolonged. Only on proof of such wantonness or unreasonableness would there be just cause of offense. To hold otherwise would be to hold that, in our own Civil War, foreign nations might justly, complain because our blockade of an insurgent coast rendered nugatory, for the time being, their long-standing right to navigate our ports and rivers.

Let, then, the "fifty-mile order" of November 2, 1903, and the still severer interdict of the following day be judged in the light of those "first principles."

No doubt, upon the bombardment of Panama and the threatened violence to Americans in Colon, United States troops were rightly landed to protect American citizens and their possessions. Such precautions are sanctioned by humane considerations and by universal precedent concerning a government's duty to protect its unoffending people. But that has nothing whatever to do with the President's forbidding Colombia so much as to attempt her self-defense. For the "fifty-mile order," and for the preventing of Colombia from moving her troops which were already within the fifty-mile limit, modern history offers no counterpart and international law no sanction. It was sheer usurpation! Yet the author of that sheer usurpation emphatically avers that so far as his acquaintance with diplomacy and international law extends, or his education in the first principles of national sovereignty has advanced, his course was superlatively right. His words are:

"Not only was the course followed as regards Panama right in every detail, but there could have been no variation from that course except

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for the worse. We not only did what was technically justifiable, but we did what was demanded by every ethical consideration, national and international."

He vehemently declares that he did as well as he knew how! To believe it would be a relief.

In the final act of the drama, events move with accelerated swiftness. As we have seen, on November 2, 1903, in time of profound peace between Colombia and the United States, while there was no slightest interruption of transit, the President's amazing "fifty-mile order" was issued. On the evening of November 3, at six o'clock, the *émeute* which the President had anticipated took place in the city of Panama, the chief promoters being "the fire department." The less than two hundred Government soldiers were "persuaded" to join the movement. The few Government officials were taken prisoners. "Four hundred Colombian soldiers landed at Colon." This was received in Washington at 9.50 P.M. of November 3d. One hour and twenty-eight minutes later—*viz.*, at 11.18—word was returned directing the commander of the *Nashville* to "make every effort to prevent Government troops at Colon from proceeding to Panama." That is, in eighty-eight minutes from receipt of notice of an "uprising"—it was so named in the despatch—in the one city of Panama, the President transcended his "fifty-mile order" of the previous day, and embargoed Colombia's troops that were already within the "fifty-mile" limit. The next day, November 4th, at 9.50 in the morning came the consular assurance, "The troops will not be moved. . . . [Colombian] gunboat *Bogota* threatens to bombard city to-day"! At two minutes past noon of that same November 4th, a telegram was sent directing that the *Bogota* cease the "wanton shelling of Panama." It was significantly added, "We shall have a naval force at Panama in two days." At 7.10 P.M. of that same November 4th, a telegram from the Panama consul announced that a proclamation of independence had been issued by the insurgents, and that three persons had been deputed to draw up a form of government. During the following day, November 5th, the interchange of telegrams respecting the details of the situation was frequent and urgent. On November 6th, at 12.51, the following Government message was sent to our Panama consul:

"The people of Panama have by an apparently unanimous movement

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dissolved their connection with the Republic of Colombia and resumed their independence. When you are satisfied that a *de facto* government, republican in form and without substantial opposition from its own people, has been established in the State of Panama, you will enter into relations with it as the responsible government of the territory."

A mere consul authorized to acknowledge a new nation, as soon as he thinks that a republican form of government has been put in operation! And then, "to make assurance doubly sure," one hour and fifty-four minutes later, at 2.45 P.M., for the consul's guidance "in the execution of the instructions" just cabled to him, the transmission of a copy of a telegram already sent to the United States minister at Bogota:

"The people of Panama . . . having adopted a government of their own, republican in form, with which the government of the United States of America has entered into relations, the President of the United States . . . most earnestly commends to the governments of Colombia and Panama the peaceful and equitable settlement of all questions at issue between them. He holds that he is bound not only by treaty obligations, but by the interests of civilization, to see that the peaceable traffic of the world across the Isthmus of Panama shall not longer be disturbed by a constant succession of unnecessary and wasteful civil wars."

[We have already traced the record: interruption from any and all causes, in the forty years of Colombian history, of only one hundred and sixty-four days.] Had the President wholly forgotten his Latin: *Mendacem memorem esse oportet?*

Thus at 12.51, midday, November 6, 1903, the President recognized the new nation, the Republic of Panama! From the November 2d of the "fifty-mile order," four days! From the 7.10 P.M. of November 4th, when announcement came that a proclamation of independence had been issued by the insurgents, one day, seventeen hours, and forty-one minutes!

Beyond peradventure, civilized diplomacy affords no analogy of that recognition of the Republic of Panama. Under a treaty specifically guaranteeing, as against all foreign nations, Colombia's "rights of sovereignty and property" over the identical territory in question, and also that territory's efficacious "neutrality," a treaty whose stipulations were to be "religiously observed," the President of the guaranteeing nation, itself unavoidably included in the treaty's provisions, forcibly disabled Colombia from taking the slightest precautionary measure against seces-

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sion; continued and expanded his hostility; and then, *in one day, seventeen hours, and forty-one minutes* from the issuance in the one city of Panama of an insurgent proclamation of independence, recognized a new sovereignty! A popular uprising, at a single point, of less than one-tenth of the population of the province of Panama; no revolutionary committee representing the other five districts of the province; no formulated statement of grievances; no congress, no army, no navy, no courts of justice, no financial stability, evidently unable to withstand the forces of the parent country; yet an admission to the great sisterhood of nations! Admitted in less time than measures two revolutions of the earth on its axis! It is ample cause for thankfulness that the annals of civilization are sullied by no sustaining precedent.

In a note of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, to Mr. Adams, American minister at the Court of St. James, in 1861, he said:

"We freely admit that a nation may, and even ought to, recognize a new State which has absolutely and beyond question effected its independence and permanently established its sovereignty; and that a recognition in such case affords no just cause of offense to the government of the country from which the new State has detached itself. On the other hand, we insist that a nation that recognizes a revolutionary State *with a view to aid its effecting its sovereignty and independence* commits a great wrong against the nation whose integrity is thus invaded, and makes itself responsible for a just and ample redress. . . . To recognize the independence of a new State, and so favor, possibly determine, its admission into the family of nations, is the highest possible exercise of sovereign power, because it affects in any case the welfare of two nations and often the peace of the world. In the European system this power is now seldom attempted to be exercised without invoking a consultation or congress of nations. That system has not been extended to this continent. But there is even a greater necessity for prudence in such cases in regard to American States than in regard to the nations of Europe. . . . Seen in the light of this principle, the several nations of the earth constitute one great federal republic."

There spoke the informed conviction of a real statesman, and therein appears the immemorial practice of honorable governments.

Suppose that when we were at the threshold of our last domestic struggle, as soon as those disaffected had declared their scheme, Great Britain had decided that the dismembering purpose was already accomplished; and, when the second twenty-four hours was scarce more than half over,

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had accorded the revolted States the full prerogatives of independent sovereignty! Our patriotic indignation would have known no bounds. Like jealous love, it could not have been quenched by many waters nor drowned by floods. The flame of our anger would have "burned to the lowest hell." Life, fortune, sacred honor would have been freely cast into the sacrificial balance. Amazed resentment, "hors'd upon the sightless couriers of the air, would have blown the horrid deed in every eye!"

The President naïvely refers to Panama's secession as but a "resuming of her independence." Such is the phrase in his telegram of recognition. In his message to Congress, of January 4, 1904, he says:

"A third possibility was that the people of the Isthmus who had formerly constituted an independent State, and who recently were united to Colombia only by a loose tie of federal relationship, might take the protection of their own vital interests into their own hands, reassert their former rights, and declare their independence on just grounds."

But in no proper sense of the term was Panama ever an "independent State"; nor was it by a "recent and loose tie of federal relationship" that Panama was united to Colombia. In 1840 the provinces of Panama and Veragua seceded from New Granada; but so brief and futile was the separation that history simply records the departure and return. In 1857 Panama, availing herself of a new provision of the central Constitution, assumed such quasi-independence as was consistent with a federal connection with the central Government—precisely that and no whit more! Even that quasi-independence under a federal relationship lasted only four years. In 1863 Colombia became successor to New Granada, with Panama as an integral part of the new Government. From 1886 to 1903, the province of Panama was as absolutely identified with Colombia as Massachusetts with the United States. Not at all the President's loose tie of federal relationship of comparatively recent origin, but a scarcely interrupted integral relationship of almost half a century, and a final absolute identity of nearly a score of years!

To return, the President, says:

"I have not denied, nor do I wish to deny, either the validity or the propriety of the general rule that a new State should not be recognized as independent till it has shown its ability to maintain its independence.

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. . . But, like the principle from which it is deduced, the rule is subject to exceptions; and there are, in my opinion, clear and important reasons why a departure from it was justified and even required in the present instance. These reasons embrace, first, our treaty rights; second, our national interests and safety; and, third, the interests of collective civilization."

Could there be a more decisive disclosure of the President's personality and development than his invocation of "exceptions to a principle"? Could there be a more significant revelation of his attainments in moral science? It had been taken for granted that a "principle," whether a law of nature or a standard of conduct, was fundamental, having continuous and uniform force, and that exceptions could exist in only the applications of the principle. For instance, veracity as a principle is "good faith between those within the bonds of good faith." In the relations of speech to fact there are said to be permissible variations. It is affirmed that speech need not conform to reality when one is conversing with the wholly insane or with those whose manifestly malign intent puts them beyond the pale of mutual obligation. Would the author of the Panama policy claim for himself not only exceptions in the practical modes of veracious speech, but also exceptions in the rule itself? In view of the President's acts and utterances as related to the Panama imbroglio of 1903, one might be at least half pardoned for so thinking. The clear terms, the indubitable intent, the time-honored interpretation of the treaty of 1846 he haughtily set aside, substituting therefor his egotistic *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*—"I took the Canal Zone"!

But there is a second ardent appeal, and this time to our own "national interests and safety." That also is revelatory of the appellant. Was it perceived by others than the President, at 12.51 midday of November 6, 1903, that our national welfare, even to the verge of national peril, was hinged on the immediate construction of an Isthmian canal? According to the statistics of population and *pro rata* wealth, of production and trade, of education and religion, we were fairly prosperous and making commendable progress. We were at peace with all nations. Domestic insurrection was not apprehended. It was thought by some that we were already in need of the ancient admonition, "The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, O thou that dwellest

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in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill." During the years in which the successful digging of the canal has been going on, has it been generally felt that we were trembling in the world-power balance, timidly awaiting deliverance? When the canal is finally opened, will our national well-being be suddenly and completely assured? Yet the self-hypnotized Executive who says, "I took the Canal Zone," "I am interested in the canal because I started it," asks us to condone his betrayal of a trustful ally, on the patriotic ground that our own national safety was at stake, and that there was no warrant for another instant's delay! National well-being is not thus secured. He who "has established his throne in the heavens and whose kingdom ruleth over all" acquits none who work iniquity and are unrepentant. The Persians have the proverb, "When even one wronged child cries in the dark, the throne of God rocks from side to side."

It remains that we consider the President's excuse of "a mandate of collective civilization." Herein the "mandatary" of progressive humanity rises far above mere patriotic zeal! He sees, as through the mists of apocalyptic vision, an indeterminate and indeterminable something which he calls "collective civilization." He appears to have been in such trance as befell the man of the land of Uz.

> "Now a thing was secretly brought to me,
> And mine ear received a whisper thereof;
> Then a spirit passed before my face;
> It stood still, but I could not discern
> The appearance thereof."

It will ever be regretted that the user of the phrase "collective civilization" did not attempt to define it. Is it possible that he adumbrated the slow accretion of human betterments through political and social organization; the fair evolutions of art and literature; the consummate achievements of liberty under law; the infinitely precious fruitage of religious aspiration? May he have dimly seen the endless procession of those who had gone by the crimson path of martyrdom to receive earth's undying gratitude and heaven's unending acclaim? May he, by proleptic realization, have felt what Wordsworth calls "incommunicable ecstasies" as he dreamed of the progress yet to be made, the felicities yet to be won? Let us endeavor thus to sup-

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pose. But even so, how could he think that from such high source there had come to him alone the mandate which conferred autocratic power? In what hour of rapt meditation did he hear the voice which bade him move unhesitatingly, unshrinkingly, to the goal of his desire? In connection with what celestial sign did he read the words *In hoc signo vinces?* "Collective civilization," whatever it may mean, if issuing any kind of mandates, issues mandates utterly at variance with the self-will which "took" the Canal Zone while treaties gasped, and diplomacy stood bewildered, and international jurisprudence averted her astonished sight. It were a moral fatuity, on the very face of it, to imagine that the greatest good of the greatest number could possibly be subserved by flouting good faith and reckoning Providence as a co-conspirator against essential justice. Yet the self-appointed protagonist of imperial efficiency still declares,

> "We did harm to no one, save as harm is done to a bandit by a policeman who deprives him of his chance for blackmail."

The verdict of history reads, "The policeman himself turned bandit. In the name of equity and under the guise of friendship, he smote the innocent and plundered the defenseless!"

He who hurried with "Tarquin's ravishing strides" to make irrevocable Colombia's dismemberment still argues that his "position as the mandatary of civilization" was fully recognized by the powers, as witness "the promptitude with which, one after another," they followed his lead "in recognizing Panama as an independent State." Therein he again takes to himself the sole responsibility; and therein he is in perfect accord with the facts. He adopted the child before it was born. He midwifed its birth. He certified, for what the certificate was worth, that the child was not a bastard. He safeguarded its puny, puling infancy. He lifted it, cradle and all, to the seats of the mighty. He gained for it world-wide recognition. Consequently, he might not divest himself of responsibility, even though he would! But the powers, in following his lead, did not thereby approve his act. Their course was not only perfunctory, but also virtually compulsory. They could scarcely do aught else than "recognize" the new nation on whose po-

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litical status the President of the United States had set his official, though tarnished, seal.

Finally, the restless, strenuous "doer of things," the seizer of the Canal Zone, asserts his worthiness of the unfading laurel. He triumphantly declares:

> "The United States has many honorable chapters in its history, but no more honorable chapter than that which tells of the way in which the right to dig the Panama Canal was secured, and of the manner in which the work itself has been carried out."

The raid on defenseless Colombia, in the interest of a swift indomitable construction of an Isthmian waterway, made to vie with the heroic settlement of a new continent, in the interest of civil and religious freedom! The "fifty-mile order" and its congener of the following day, foredooming a "guaranteed" ally to defeat by secession, ranked with the proclamation which gave freedom to enslaved millions! The coddled Panama "uprising," insured in advance, set in the illustrious category of Lexington and Bunker Hill, Valley Forge and Yorktown! The recognition of a new sovereignty, after one day, seventeen hours, and forty-one minutes of pampered, flimsy independence, favorably compared with an independence which was won by years of ceaseless conflict and the sacrifice of treasures untold! Such a treacherous rending of one of their number as has awakened dismay and distrust in all the Southern republics put on a par with that reconstruction of a Northern Union which has heartened the friends of democracy in all parts of the world!

Is it possible that there should be condonation of the President's "taking" of the Canal Zone, because inwoven with the plottings of self-centered ambition there was the hastening of a national and international good? Therein also is there "an exception to the principle" that right is right, sacred and eternal? Is the end to sanctify the means? Then Ahab's rape of Naboth's vineyard was well, provided he "took" it for a public park. Then the rich man's seizure of the poor man's one ewe lamb was fair, if therewith he enlarged his feast for the hungry. Then Judas Iscariot may be acquitted with applause, if only he was a thief in order to pay his honest debts, and a traitor that he might quiet disturbance and strengthen "law and order" in the land.

Here let the chapter of national dishonor close its record.

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Let the final verdict be rendered as required by the law and the facts. Let the prime actor in that national dishonor take his place as determined by that same law and those same facts. *Fiat justitia!*

Meantime, the treatment of Colombia demands that "just and ample redress" of which Mr. Seward spoke. Our national honor was dragged in the mire. It ought to be rescued from its disgrace. With propriety we might repair to the Hague Tribunal, humbly bespeaking such penalty as that High Court might declare to be right. Until reparative action is somehow taken, the national reproach abides. Save as we, nationally, make the *amende honorable,* "great Neptune's ocean" will not remove the stain. The "damned spot" will still persist. There is grim satisfaction in the poet's words:

> "Yea, though we sinned and our rulers went from righteousness;
> Deep in all dishonor though we stained our garment's hem;
> Oh, be ye not dismayed,
> Though we stumbled and we strayed;
> We were led by evil counselors—the Lord shall deal with them."

Yet the satisfaction is mingled with pity for those same evil counselors, as we recall the inspired declaration:

> "And in covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose sentence now from of old lingereth not, and their destruction slumbereth not."

LEANDER T. CHAMBERLAIN.

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THE NEGRO AS A FARMER

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

One of the most striking facts that I have learned from a study of the bulletins of the 1910 census thus far issued has been the rapid and continued increase in the number of negro farmers in the Southern States. For example: there has been an increase of 469,061, or 17.9 per cent., in the total number of farms and farmers, white and colored, in the Southern States, which shows that the South is far in advance of the rest of the country, as far as concerns the increase in the number of farms. In fact, fully three-fourths of all the total increase in the number of farms in the United States during the past ten years is in the Southern States. In the North Atlantic, what we used to call in the old geographies the New England and Middle Atlantic States, there has been a decrease of almost four per cent. in the number of farms during this period. In the North Central or States of the Middle West, the increase amounts to only one per cent. There has been an increase of fifty-two per cent. in the number of farms in the Western States, but while the percentage of increase in this part of the country is large, the absolute increase in farms and farmers was only 126,336, as against an increase of 469,061 in the Southern States.

The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that, rapid as has been the increase in total number of farms of both races in the South, the number of negro farmers has increased proportionately more rapidly than the number of white farmers. While the white farmers in fifteen Southern States increased from 1,870,600 in 1900 to 2,191,805 in 1910, the negro farmers increased from 739,835 in 1900 to 887,691 in 1910, making an increase of 17.0 per cent. for the whites and 19.9 per cent. for the blacks.

No figures have yet been published showing the relative

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increase, as between the white and colored people, in the number of landowners, and it does not follow, of course, that the number of negro landowners has increased in the same ratio as the number of negro farmers. In fact, the statistics of land ownership in the Southern States show that, not taking account of the different races, the total number of landowners has increased only about half as rapidly as the total number of farmers. In what proportion the 170,032 new landowners in the South are distributed between the races, has not, so far as I know, been definitely ascertained.

While the census figures show that, taking the Southern States as a whole, the negro farmers have increased more rapidly than the white farmers, they also show that this increase has not been evenly distributed throughout the South. In some States, notably in Louisiana, there has not only been no increase in the number of negro farmers, but there has been a very marked absolute decrease, a decrease of not less than 3,350 negro farmers, during the ten years.

The following table shows the actual numbers of negro farmers, together with the changes and fluctuation in the numbers and proportion of the white and colored farmers in fifteen Southern States. The figures do not include Delaware or the District of Columbia, although these are usually classed in the census figures with the Southern States.

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF NEGRO AND WHITE FARMERS FOR FIFTEEN SOUTHERN STATES, SHOWING INCREASE FOR EACH RACE

State.	1900		1910		Increase.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	129,137	94,083	152,347	110,373	23,210	16,290
Arkansas	131,711	46,983	150,920	63,355	19,209	16,372
Florida	27,288	13,526	35,125	14,709	7,837	1,183
Georgia	141,865	82,826	168,158	122,341	26,293	39,515
Kentucky	223,429	11,238	247,036	11,706	23,607	468
Louisiana	57,809	58,160	65,460	54,810	7,651	*3,350
Maryland	40,169	5,843	42,402	6,367	2,233	524
Mississippi ...	92,124	128,679	109,390	164,430	17,266	35,751
North Carolina	169,773	54,864	187,831	65,594	18,058	10,730
Oklahoma	94,775	13,225	168,910	20,528	74,135	7,303
South Carolina	69,954	85,401	79,484	96,696	9,530	11,295
Tennessee	190,728	33,895	207,260	38,249	16,532	4,354
Texas	286,654	65,536	346,565	69,812	59,911	4,276
Virginia	123,052	44,834	135,743	48,019	12,691	3,185
West Virginia.	92,132	742	95,174	702	3,042	*40
Total...	1,870,600	739,835	2,191,805	887,691	321,205	147,856

* Decrease.

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One of the interesting things brought out by the comparison of the different States in this table is the fact that, in the five States of Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia, Louisiana, and Florida, the number of white farmers has increased at a more rapid rate than the number of negro farmers. Five other States, West Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, South Carolina, and Alabama show the same rate of increase for both races. In the five States, Tennessee, North Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, and Arkansas, in which nearly half of the total negro population in the South live, negro farmers have increased during the past ten years more rapidly than the white farmers, in proportion to population of the respective races of these States.

In Georgia and Mississippi the number of negro farmers has increased both absolutely and relatively more rapidly than the same class of whites. In Georgia the number of negro farmers has grown from 82,826 in 1900 to 122,341 in 1910, a gain of 39,515 in ten years. In the same period the number of white farmers in Georgia increased from 141,865 in 1900 to 168,158 in 1910, a gain of 26,293 in ten years.

In Mississippi, where negroes now represent fifty-six per cent. of the total population and sixty per cent. of the farmers, the number of negro farmers increased from 128,679 in 1900 to 164,430 in 1910, an increase of 35,751. During the same period the number of white farmers increased from 92,124 in 1900 to 109,390 in 1910, an increase of 17,266.

Whatever else this increase of negro farmers may mean, it certainly indicates that, in proportion to their numbers, and in spite of a certain amount of negro emigration to the North and a considerable immigration of the white population to the South, negroes are entering in proportionately larger numbers into farming in the South, and becoming more and more responsible, either as owners or as tenants, for the success or failure of agriculture.

I can, perhaps, give a better idea of the part which negro farmers, as compared with white farmers, are actually taking in the agriculture of the South by comparing the statistics of farmers with the statistics of population. The following table shows the relative percentage of the white and colored in the total population of fifteen Southern States in 1900 and 1910, together with the percentage of white and colored farmers for the same periods.

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TABLE SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO AND WHITE FARMERS COMPARED WITH POPULATION OF EACH RACE

State.	1900 Per Cent. of Total. Population. White.	1900 Population. Colored.	1900 Farmers. White.	1900 Farmers. Colored.	1910 Per Cent. of Total. Population. White.	1910 Population. Colored.	1910 Farmers. White.	1910 Farmers. Colored.
Alabama	54.8	45.2	58.0	42.0	57.5	42.5	58.0	42.0
Arkansas	72.0	28.0	74.0	26.0	71.8	28.2	70.0	30.0
Florida	56.3	43.7	67.0	33.0	58.9	41.1	70.0	30.0
Georgia	53.3	46.7	63.0	37.0	54.9	45.1	58.0	42.0
Kentucky	86.7	13.3	95.0	5.0	88.6	11.4	96.0	4.0
Louisiana	52.8	47.2	50.0	50.0	56.8	43.2	54.0	46.0
Maryland	80.2	19.8	87.0	13.0	82.1	17.9	87.0	13.0
Mississippi ...	41.3	58.7	42.0	58.0	43.7	56.3	40.0	60.0
North Carolina	66.7	33.3	76.0	24.0	68.4	31.6	74.0	26.0
Oklahoma ...	84.8	15.2	88.0	12.0	87.2	12.8	89.0	11.0
South Carolina	41.6	58.4	45.0	55.0	44.8	55.2	45.0	55.0
Tennessee	76.2	23.8	85.0	15.0	78.3	21.7	84.0	16.0
Texas	79.6	20.4	81.0	19.0	82.3	17.7	83.0	17.0
Virginia	64.3	35.7	73.0	27.0	67.4	32.6	74.0	26.0
West Virginia	95.5	4.5	99.0	1.0	94.7	5.3	99.0	1.0

This table shows that while the white population has grown more rapidly than the colored population in all but two of the fifteen Southern States mentioned, namely West Virginia and Arkansas, the number of white farmers has grown more rapidly than the negro farmers in only five, namely: Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia, Louisiana, and Florida. In the States of Oklahoma, Texas, and Florida, there has been a very considerable immigration of farmers from the Northern States. In Virginia there has been a very considerable decrease in the negro, as compared with the white, population. At the same time, the decrease in the number of negroes as compared with the white farmers has been only one per cent.

In Louisiana, where there seems to have been an absolute loss of 3,550 of negro farmers, conditions are not so easily explained. The white population of Louisiana has grown to some extent by immigration, and there has been a very considerable emigration from Louisiana to Arkansas and Oklahoma, and this has tended to alter the ratio of the white and colored population, but does not wholly account for the decrease in farmers, as there has been no corresponding decrease in the rate of increase in the negro population. The figures seem to indicate, therefore, that negro emigration from Louisiana westward has come almost wholly from the country districts. An explanation suggested is that the coming of the boll weevil has discouraged negro farmers in that part of the country. The boll weevil

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has not had the same effect elsewhere, however, so that I am disposed to attribute the decrease to local causes which are not yet wholly explained.

The census for 1910 shows, then, that there has been a proportionately larger increase in the negro than in the white farmers in the Southern States. I do not intend to suggest that this fact by itself is of any great importance. The real significance of this increase in the number and proportion of negro farmers is that it has gone along with an enormous development of Southern agriculture as a whole.

There has been, for example, an increase of $4,034,483,000 in the total values of farm lands and buildings during the last ten years, and an increase of $112,284,000 in the value of farm machinery. The South is spending $74,324,000 more for farm labor and $46,145,000 more for fertilizers in 1910 than it did in 1900. While there has been a very large decrease in the farm acreage in the South, due principally to the fact that hundreds of thousands of acres of mountain, timber, and swamp land, reported as farms in 1900 and used to some extent for grazing purposes, were not reported as farms in 1910. At the same time there has been an increase of 24,058,000 acres in the amount of improved land, and an average decrease of from fifteen to thirty acres in the size of farms. The decrease has been fifteen acres for farms in the South Atlantic, and thirty acres for farms in the South-Central States. Both these facts indicate a more intensive and higher type of farming; indicate, in short, that farmers were putting more labor and more intelligence into the cultivation of the soil in 1910 than they did in 1900.

There has been a larger increase in value of farm lands and a larger increase in expenditures for labor and for fertilizers in the Southern States than in any other part of the country, except the Western States. If one compares the different geographical divisions, as to the increase in land values, it appears that in the North Atlantic States there has been an increase of 27 per cent. in the value of farming lands and buildings; in the North Central States this increase has been 114 per cent.; in the South Atlantic the increase has been 105 per cent.; in the South Central, 133 per cent., and in the West 193 per cent.

The value of an acre of farm land has increased 32 per cent. in the North Atlantic; 99 per cent. in the North Cen-

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tral; 110 per cent. in the South Atlantic; 152 per cent. in the South Central; 157 per cent. in the Western States.

Not only has this great advance been made in the South, where the negro has a proportionately larger share in agriculture than he had a decade ago, but if we compare the Southern States in which the number of negroes is proportionately large with those States in which it is proportionately small, it will be seen that there has been on the whole just as much progress, if not more, where the proportion of negro farmers was large as where it was small. The following table shows the percentage of negro and white farmers, and the percentages of increase in the average value per acre of land in the different Southern States. In these tables, the first seven States are arranged in the order of the percentage of negro farmers, and the last eight in the order of the percentage of white farmers.

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO AND WHITE FARMERS IN SEVEN STATES HAVING HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO FARMERS WITH AVERAGE INCREASE IN LAND PER ACRE IN EACH STATE

State.	Per Cent. Negro Farmers.	Per Cent. White Farmers.	Per Cent. Increase In Value of Land Per Acre.
Mississippi	60	40	115
South Carolina	55	45	172
Louisiana	46	54	78
Georgia	42	58	156
Alabama	42	58	113
Arkansas	30	70	118
Florida	30	70	141

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO AND WHITE FARMERS IN EIGHT STATES HAVING HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF WHITE FARMERS WITH AVERAGE INCREASE IN LAND PER ACRE IN EACH STATE

State.	Per Cent. Negro Farmers.	Per Cent. White. Farmers.	Per Cent. Increase In Value of Land Per Acre.
West Virginia	01	99	67
Kentucky	05	95	65
Oklahoma	11	89	245
Maryland	13	87	41
Tennessee	16	84	84
Texas	17	83	204
Virginia	26	74	100
North Carolina	26	74	138

From all these figures, it would seem to be apparent that, in spite of all that is said to the contrary, the negro in the South is beginning to heed the advice of those who have told him to stick to the farm. It does not follow from this, however, that negro farmers are sticking fast on the land on

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which they were planted years ago. On the contrary, the census figures show that there is a very considerable movement of the negro population to the new territory, where there is opportunity to better their condition, as in the case of the negro population in Oklahoma, which has grown 147 per cent. in the past ten years. But, on the whole, the negro is sticking to the soil.

At the same time these figures prove, it would appear, that the negro is able and willing to improve in his methods of farming. It is evident that all this advance in land values could not have taken place in spite of the negro. He must have had, as he has always had, his share during this time, in the work of building up the farming industry in the South, and, considering the little education he has had in agriculture and the limitations owing to his lack of general education that prevented his taking advantage of the opportunities for improvement that are offered to farmers in other parts of the country, it must be admitted that he has done well.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

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THE GERMANY OF TO-DAY

BY HUGO MUNSTERBERG

THE American nation has become a world power and is therefore in steady contact with the countries of Europe; the newspapers abound in reports from European lands; the army of travelers who spend their summer in Europe grows from year to year; the flood of European immigrants rises alarmingly—and, in spite of all, how little the average American knows of the true Europe and how easily misunderstandings and frictions arise from such ignorance! The difference between the true picture and the caricature by the popular fancy seems in no case more astonishing than in that of Germany. The millions of German-Americans and the numberless family ties between America and the fatherland have not corrected the distorted views. Much of this prejudice against the Germans has come over from European sources; the continental cablegrams have usually gone through London, and there have been retouched by the professional spirit of anti-Germanism. Hence the Germans have too often been drawn as boisterous ruffians who were seeking to disturb the peace of the world. Some still imagine Germany as a kind of softened Siberia with no popular government, no freedom, and no human dignity; others have heard that the Germans are dreamers, useless for the practical tasks of life; still others associate the picture of a German with a foaming mug and, possibly, the long pipe; others with military drill and maltreatment of the poor soldier: yes, even when the better-informed circles are consulted vague prejudices are brought to light. German art is said to be formless and its literature shapeless; German scholarship is accused of being narrow and dry; German social life lacks beauty and elegance; and German state life is controlled by the lasting desire to resist the movements toward peace.

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Not every one of such mischievous misconceptions can be uprooted by a flying automobile trip through the Rhine Valley from Cologne to Heidelberg, or by a few weeks in Berlin at a half-American hotel. To be sure, even the hasty visitor will soon discover that the much-maligned German policemen have nowadays nothing but politeness even for the most superfluous question, and that every new-fashioned restaurant gladly serves him with mineral water instead of beer; that the parliamentary debates for politically interested readers fill a much larger space in the German newspapers than any reports from Congress in America; that even in the streets of Berlin the sight of soldiers is, on the whole, rare; that the leading hostelries surpass in elegance anything known in Europe, and that the comfort of traveling can satisfy even the spoiled American. If the traveler happens to stay longer and really to enter into the spirit of German life and German culture, he feels more strongly from day to day how many of the differences from his native land are superficial and how many of the deeper features are common to both peoples. The whole rhythm of progress, the development of the cities with its achievements and its nuisances, the whole spirit of the land, then show him with increasing clearness the well-known features of American life.

Yet an underlying feeling remains in his mind that there are puzzling contradictions in German life, and while he has often heard that foreigners call his own country "a land of contrasts," he gains the distinct impression that Germany is still more such a land of contrasting and contradictory tendencies. Nationalism and internationalism, hard work and esthetic enjoyment, individualism and anti-individualism, aristocracy and democracy, materialism and idealism, seem to fill all modern Germany with an inner struggle difficult to understand. Hence, even among those who are willing seriously to enter into the spirit of the land, not a few feel confused and puzzled. They cannot find out what modern Germany is aiming at. They almost regret the passing of the old Germany which could so easily be brought to a simple formula, the schoolmaster Germany before the days of German empire and German industrialism. But all these energies, apparently so contradictory, may ultimately make up a well-organized and unified national character. These seeming contradictions may fundamen-

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tally be two aspects of a deeper unity, and he who examines earnestly these great contrasting forces in German life must finally discover that, in different forms and under somewhat different cultural conditions, after all, the same energies are shaping modern America too.

To begin at the beginning, the modern German is thoroughly nationalistic. This has not always been so, and to those who know Germany only through its classical literature and its cosmopolitan atmosphere, the change often seems striking. Its newness, of course, sometimes leads to exaggeration, but it would be utterly wrong to speak of German chauvinism. It has rightly been said that chauvinism is, anyhow, nothing but the patriotism of other peoples; though, indeed, a type of patriotism does exist which is intolerant and which lacks internal respect and earnest acknowledgment of the value of other countries. Nothing is further from the German attitude. Certainly the modern German is proud of his fatherland and its achievements, of its industry and of its army, of its scholarship and of its music, but he is supremely interested in all that other nations do; and if perhaps he sometimes claims that his thoroughness of work is unsurpassed in the world or that his sentiment comes from deeper sources, he is certainly no less aware of how much he lacks some tendencies and faculties which he admires in others.

The German nationalism is the loyal belief in the mission of the German spirit in the world. As such it is, indeed, a vehement protest against the cosmopolitanism which Germany's poets and thinkers upheld at a time of political weakness. When Germany's political power was paralyzed, the thoughts of the best men played with a philosophic humanism which was to stand above political citizenship. In their speculative dreams man as a rational being seemed hampered and subdued by the narrowness of ties of the State and of national conditions of life. The ideal seemed to be to forget the provincialism of all which separates man from man and to enter with the whole heart into the citizenship of the world.

This colorless and characterless cosmopolitanism has been swept away by the enthusiasm for the German Empire. It did not yield at once to the historic attitude which is the controlling force to-day. The first decades of the new Germany were deeply influenced by the immense progress

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of naturalistic sciences. The biological question of racial descent and racial conflicts stood in the foreground and disturbed more than it accentuated the joy in the German unity, as Germany, like every other nation, is a mixture of many different racial elements. But the new century has brought a decided reaction against this naturalistic influence. The idea of the nation as a State has carried the day. Not a German race is to be perpetuated; but a nation of men who are filled with German ideals and who believe in the German task is to be strengthened and served by the patriot. This new emotional attitude brings a new life to everything in which German historical tradition is living and a new joy in every advance which shows a characteristically German stamp. It has given strength to the German political striving, and, although far from any imperialistic vaingloriousness, it demands a strong army and navy.

The apparent contrast to all this lies in the strong international interest which can be felt throughout Germany. It is no longer that old, often ridiculed desire of the Germans to imitate the foreigner and to overestimate everything which comes from without the boundaries of the land. That was the most unpleasant by-product of the cosmopolitan Germany which has disappeared. The German language itself is witness of the effort to uphold pure German against the influx of foreign idioms. It is too little noticed what a change has come to the German style within the last twenty years, and how the words of foreign origin are instinctively replaced by words of German root. Yet the German has not lost his decided talent for entering into the spirit of foreign nations. He easily learns the foreign languages, feels at home in foreign literatures, and when he travels adjusts himself without effort—often by far too easily—to the nations he visits. Throughout history the Germans have for this reason often played the rôle of natural mediators. Through their influence the various nations have come into contact; and this spirit of internationalism is as vivid to-day as it ever was. At Berlin University are two thousand foreign students; in the German play-houses the dramatic literature of the world finds a genuine appreciation; German scholarship seeks the closest contact with the research of all nations; German commerce is helped by nothing more than by the readiness of the Germans to settle for a while in foreign lands, and

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just the newest Germany furnishes more globe-trotters than any other country.

All this finds its background in a most serious love for international peace on the part of the German nation. The outsiders forget that Germany has now had unbroken peace for over forty years, and that the Emperor who was denounced as a war-lord has been on the throne for more than two decades without drawing the sword. Certainly the German nation loves its army and considers the years of military service as a fine schooling for manhood and as a splendid training in that discipline which gives backbone to the whole public life. Above all, living in the center of Europe, east and west tightly pressed by excitable neighbors, it knows that a strong army is the only safe insurance against national dangers and destruction. But the same German populace which is proud of its army has the strongest desire that there be no need of its being led to the battle-field. To be sure, German patriotism still mourns at the thought that the globe was divided among the great nations before Germany came to unity and strength, and that as a result Germany's colonies are unimportant compared with those of some other leading nations. Nor will Germany ever forget the warning of the favorite poet of the masses, the outcry of Schiller, that infamous is the nation which does not sacrifice everything for its honor. But the Germans of to-day know how easily any trivial quarrel can be made to appear an issue of honor to the hysteric element of a nation. They see clearly that the most fortunate war would be a disturbance of Germany's steady, sound development, while an unfortunate war would ruin everything. It is true that there is less heard in Germany than in America about the systematic agitation for peace. The peace societies have no considerable influence in German public life, there are no powerful promotors, and no Carnegie helps their cause. But this certainly does not indicate a weaker love for peace; it indicates an instinctive feeling that in the complicated situation of European rivalries mere declamations about disarmament cannot help the cause of peace in the least. There is even a wide-spread sentiment that the direct discussion of peace has its elements of danger. Peace is something negative; it means the absence of fighting and war, and all the pacificatory debates drag the idea of war and fighting constantly into the

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midst of the popular imagination. Such ideas, which so easily appeal to the lower instincts of man and to his most excitable layers of emotions, may become causes for the excitements which they aim to suppress. The conditions, however, which really work toward the conservation of European peace become more stable and firm in Germany from year to year. The strong new nationalism and patriotism with all its pride in the German army and its contempt for a weak cosmopolitanism is not at all in contrast but ultimately in deepest harmony with this peace-loving internationalism which acknowledges and respects the characteristics of every other nation. Is this doubleness of mind really strange to the American social consciousness? Is not the American mind also deeply filled with the patriotism which believes in battle-ships and at the same time with the sincere, deep-rooted love for peace?

The most striking change, however, which has come to the new Germany is the unprecedented development of its material life, which seems in direct contrast with Germany's claim for pre-eminence in idealistic endeavors. If a German had left Berlin at the beginning of the eighties and returned to-day without having seen the capital in the mean time, he would hardly recognize the modest city of the time of the old emperor. Berlin has become rich and luxurious, and every city of the empire and almost every small town repeats this impression given by the metropolis. It has been the change from agrarian Germany to industrial Germany. In the beginning of the eighties more than two hundred thousand Germans went to America as emigrants every year, as the German soil was not rich enough to support them. Since that time the population has grown rapidly, and yet the emigration has gone down to a tenth part of that earlier figure because the industrialized life gives to the sixty-three millions a comfortable support; there are no slums in any German city. The change is a fundamental one, and this means that it has revolutionized not only the street life and the shop-windows, the hotels and the private homes, the places of amusement and the comfort of traveling, but that it has changed the inner attitude of the German mind. That Germany which seems old-fashioned to the younger generation considered the economic life and all which had to do with business and trade and commerce and industry as something of second rank,

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more or less as a necessary evil. The strongest, best elements of the social organization, the intelligent boys of well-to-do families became officers and lawyers, scholars and physicians, government employees and land-owners, but they looked down on the calling of the business man and on all technical activities. To-day in exactly these social groups the callings of the lawyer and of the officer have somewhat lost in attractiveness, and the life-work of the banker, of the business man, and of the manufacturer, and above all the technical professions have risen rapidly in the general estimation. It is clear that this involves a circle: the prosperity of the land draws the best elements into wealth-producing activities, and it is just this support by the best and strongest minds which works most directly toward the increase of Germany's prosperity. Moreover, it is characteristic of this new commercial period that the long-inhibited spirit of enterprise comes to its own. In England and in France the population saves its wealth, and the national capital therefore gives a relatively small interest. In Germany, as in the United States, the new income is at once put into new undertakings with all their risks, and hence in both lands the population gains the highest dividends. The representatives of industry and commerce have gained a social importance in new Germany which the preceding generation would not have understood. The rapid spread of sport and sport interests, which presupposes abundant means, has become one of the most effective vehicles of the social changes. Even the modest householder who in previous times hardly thought of a little vacation now knows that the whole family must go to a summer resort for long weeks, and he who is better off and who in earlier times traveled to the Rhine must now visit Norway and Egypt and take a trip to St. Moritz or the Riviera in the middle of the winter.

Such a change is not to everybody's liking. Many do not want to forget the life of the time when Germany was poor but when its philosophy and literature were flourishing and the world looked on the Germans as dreamers and thinkers. They liked the queer streets of Weimar better than the avenues of Berlin West. But it would be utterly wrong to claim that Germany in the garments of wealth has become disloyal to its historic tradition. Does not the art of the Renaissance show the beauty and splendor of the German

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life of the past? The Thirty Years War of the seventeenth century destroyed the prosperity of the land and for two centuries threw the fatherland into a state of poverty in which economy became the most necessary virtue, and a one-sided overestimation of the spiritual became the natural comfort in the physical distress. The days of the German Hansa were days of commercial pride. Now these old jubilant feelings of prosperity begin to revive again. But, just as in the glorious times of the Renaissance the life in wealth was most harmoniously connected with the life in beauty and with the highest appreciation of scholarship and art and literature, this new turn to commercial strength again seeks its expression in idealistic endeavors. It is not true, as the critics hastily claim, that this new comfort brings with it the vices of the parvenu, sensual materialism, and lack of higher standards; it is not true that Germany becomes unfaithful to its great traditions in the ideal realms, because it has ceased to be the poor underpaid and underfed schoolmaster of the world. On the contrary, the greater means of the land allow an expansion of the joy in art and music and drama such as has not been known before. The institutions for scholarship and research are multiplying on an unprecedented scale, and the alarmingly increasing number of new books which appear yearly in Germany indicates surely that the new-fashioned sports have not driven out the old-fashioned German sport of writing. He who looks to the deeper processes in the national life even discovers the beginning of a great idealistic movement in the younger generation. In philosophy and literature, in politics and art and religion, the mere naturalism and realism seem to be losing ground and to be yielding to a new romanticism. In the universities the philosophical lecture-rooms which were for a long time neglected again attract the scholars of to-morrow. There has come a kind of reaction against the mere collecting of facts and gathering of scientific data. A longing for wide perspectives and for unified views of the world begins a new reign. The eccentricities of the realistic drama have given place to exquisite poetry; the naturalistic stage-setting which was the pride of twenty years ago has been replaced by symbolistic stage effects which speak to the imagination through color and suggestion. The whole field of social problems has become the working-ground for a genuine enthusiastic ethical ideal-

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ism entirely unknown to the older time which had not discovered its social responsibilities.

On the surface, to be sure, it looks more as if pleasure-seeking were the central aim. The stranger who comes to a German city is amused and sometimes even morally shocked by the abundance of dining-places and restaurants, cafés and beer gardens, which seem crowded from the morning hours to the early hours of the next morning. These German people seem to have nothing to do, they do not keep meal hours, but seem to dally away their days in light talk and light beverages. The same gayety fills the amusement places of a thousand types, the variety shows and the sport palaces, the circuses and the dancing halls. This artificial pleasure-seeking of the city dwellers is even outdone by the natural enjoyments of the people in every town and every hamlet. Whatever the source of their merriment may be, they seem to live in joy and in fun, taking life easily. Yes: there is no nation which has learned so well the one lesson which America has not yet learned, to gain true satisfaction from pleasure.

It is this life-enjoying side of the nation's character which has given to love and to the play of love such a surprisingly large place in the national culture. This is repeated on every level. The coarse and vulgar imitation of love has found an expansion which makes the night life of Berlin almost unique in the world. The Americans who formerly flocked to Paris as the gayest city have known for some years that the voluptuous turmoil of the Friedrichstrasse outshines all the capitals of Europe to-day. But every salon, every festival, shows the same playful indulgence in the game of the senses. No doubt much of the spirit of the rococo time has arisen again with all its tender fancies, with its silken waistcoats, and its hand-kissing cult, and with all its hidden symbols of erotic emotion. The visitor who strolls through the streets and looks over the display in the windows of the numberless bookstores is surprised at the abundance of books on sexual questions. It seems as if all Germany had nothing else in mind but love-making and love-giving and love-abusing; and this means that it appears like a country of leisure.

Even in the sphere of highest cultural interests this remoteness from the cares of the busy day is everywhere apparent. There is no greater contrast than labor and art.

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Labor aims to change this world of brutal facts, and connects every effort with practical needs. Art seeks to make man forget the demands of practical life and sink with his whole heart into a beautiful appearance which is separated and cut off from the events of surrounding reality. The German evidently lives in this unreal world and wants to be enmeshed in the artistic creation. Berlin alone heard last winter fourteen hundred formal concerts, and to the Germans the ever-new efforts of the dramatic stage do not mean simply entertainments to fill an empty evening, but the most important affairs of life. The beautiful illusion which does not allow any intruding work appears more essential than the practical setting of a laborious existence. In Germany not girls alone read lyrics and visit the painting exhibitions. Esthetic enjoyment seems the deepest life-element of the happy nation. Is such a nation really able to do hard work and to fight its battles of industry?

Yet the expert who travels through Germany, who visits her workshops and her mills, her seaports and her commercial centers, her mines and her farms, is never in danger of being troubled by such a doubt. At every turn of his road he feels with certainty that this is a nation at work, an army of laborers. The story of Germany's assiduous efforts in the fields of education and science, of art and thought, has always been familiar to the world. But the outsiders know too little of the dogged earnestness with which the producers of wealth have gone to work and carried out their task. The American is too easily inclined to measure this economic achievement only by its final outcome as compared, perhaps, with the production of the United States. But if the value of the personal factor is correctly to be estimated, it is most important to recognize the fundamental difference in the economic setting of the two peoples. The Americans live in a gigantic country thinly settled in most parts and with treasures of nature which until recently appeared inexhaustible. The Germans live in a small land with little elbow room for the population and on a poor soil with scanty gifts of nature. In America there are less than nine inhabitants to the square kilometer of ground, in Germany about one hundred and fifteen to the square kilometer. When the German Empire was founded in 1871, 540,777 square kilometers were occupied by a population which amounted to seventy-five inhabitants to the square

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kilometer, less than than forty-one million people. There had been a steady increase in the German nation before the foundation of the empire. In 1851 there were only thirty-six millions on the same ground, but with the new political strength the increase became more rapid. The year 1900 brought it to fifty-six million, the year 1910 to sixty-five million. The grain products of the fields at the time when the German Empire arose were sufficient to feed those forty million, and there still remained some grain for export. Five million more hungry people could not find their bread on German soil. Yet the sixty-five million of to-day live incomparably better than the forty million of forty years ago. The whole standard of living has been raised on every social level. The modest comfort of the laboring population and the luxury of the rich both surpass the dreams of the foregoing generation; and yet no precious metals have been discovered in the German mines, no cotton could be raised in its fields, no coal and iron beyond the internal needs of the nation have been found. Whatever change has come has come through German energy, and without fear the German nation looks forward to the days when eighty or a hundred million will live within the narrow boundaries on its ungrateful soil. It is true that Germany has to import much of its food and has to bring from far distances its cotton and silk and much of its iron and copper, of its wool and its oil, of its wood and its fur, of its coffee and its tobacco. But it has ample means to pay with the products of labor by mind and body, as the agrarian State has changed into an industrial country which may import much raw material, but which can export the finished products of organized activity. During the year 1909 Germany's total foreign commerce amounted to 16,297,000,000 marks, while that of the United States, expressed in marks, was only 12,494,000,000, that of France 9,187,000,000, of Russia 4,654,000,000, and only Great Britain overtowered by the figure of 22,322,000,000. The increase has been steady; in 1905 Germany's foreign commerce amounted to 13,507,000,000 marks, in 1900 to 11,088,000,000. Every statistical record shows how the new Germany has succeeded in a fight against tremendous odds. It has become rich in spite of a growth of population which no longer allowed it to feed itself with the product of its own fields, in spite of meager natural resources, and in spite of a geo-

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graphical political situation which has forced the nation to carry gigantic burdens for military and naval preparations for the hour of danger. What are the forces in the make-up of the modern Germany which have secured this surprising success?

The student of social psychology cannot overlook the fact that very different tendencies have co-operated toward it, tendencies which seem to a certain degree contradictory and which indeed belong to very different sides of the German personality; tendencies, moreover, some of which are shared with the American economic worker and some of which are thoroughly un-American. For instance, the German shares with his American rival the spirit of enterprise which has contributed so much to the often feverish industrialization and which has drawn the German business man out into the world and has built up the German foreign trade. But at the same time the German believes in and loves an economy which does not allow the least waste and which tries to make use of the smallest by-products, a trait which appears to the typical American as contrary to the spirit of enterprise. The American would feel that such consideration of the small meant smallness, and that such petty carefulness would paralyze the great undertakings. In the German temperament economy and enterprise are intertwined. Yet they are of quite different origin in the nature of the German people. The economic tendency has resulted from a protracted period of suffering. The misery which the Civil War brought to the Southern States was insignificant compared with the devastation which the Thirty Years War in the seventeenth century inflicted on Germany; while the new South began to prosper after a few decades, nearly two centuries were necessary to bring back the flourishing conditions of the past in Germany. In those periods in which Germany had raised itself to unprecedented heights in literature and philosophy, the people had to school themselves in economic modesty and carefulness. The Germans of the sixteenth century had been lavish, especially in the commercial centers, but the long training in national poverty entirely eradicated that trait; and, while in the last two decades with the new wealth a new education for economic splendor has set in, the people as a whole still remain fundamentally frugal and, above all, abhorrent of all waste. In this respect the development has

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been exactly the opposite in American experience. In a land with unlimited treasures the people fancied that it was the greatest economy of energy to waste the gifts of nature, until only recently the national conscience awoke. This painstaking German economy has contributed enormously to the success in the material struggle of the young empire. Whoever compares the German methods of building dams across the valleys in order to save every fertilizing drop of water with American extravagance must be deeply impressed with the beneficial result of this hard training of the German nation. But the same disposition shows its effects in every simple business concern and in every humble household. It is an old experience that in the German kitchen nourishing and appetizing courses are prepared from material which the American housewife would throw away; and the impulse of the German woman would resist the capricious demands of the American fashion which throws away almost new garments because they are slightly out of style. The spirit of enterprise, on the other hand, is the inherited gift of the Teutonic peoples. It was for a long while subdued by the narrowness of the external conditions, but it has come to its own again with the joy in the new empire; and the same longing which made the Germans eager to cross the frontiers and the oceans has stirred them to pioneer work in every field of human activity.

But economy and enterprise would not have secured the actual results if the German had not an inborn delight in industrious activity. He loves his amusements in his leisure hours and can be happy with most naïve pleasures. But he knows that work is work and that it should be done with the best efforts of the whole personality. This instinct is not a matter of chance; it is a product of systematic education. It is a favorite and natural dogma of democracy that man as far as possible ought to be free and that discipline ought, therefore, to be reduced. This, no doubt, has its advantageous sides for the development of the future citizen whose spirit of independence will be stimulated early through an education which does not believe in anything which does not suit the taste and liking. But it also has its grave dangers. It brings superficiality into the human life; and America is beginning to discover that a youth who never has learned to be obedient will not be obedient to his own demands. America substitutes for this early educa-

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tional discipline at first sport with its rigid demands, and later an overvaluation of money, which stimulates the working energies to their maximum. In Germany a systematic education with sharp training and hard discipline early inculcates into every mind a habit of hard work. This energy for doing one's duty in spite of all selfish temptations is, moreover, greatly strengthened by the years of military service, the great national high school of labor and disciplined effort. Just as the social and hygienic value of a free Sunday can be considered without any reference to religion, the economic value of the obligatory military service can be considered without any reference to peace and war. As a training time for energetic regulated activity the German army life is of unsurpassed value to the nation.

One other feature which has contributed not the smallest part to the success of German economic life is the product of school training, too — namely, the belief in expert knowledge. American development for a long while pointed in another direction. The democratic conviction is always at first that everybody is fit for every position and that an energetic, clever fellow can handle any proposition which the day may bring. The political structure of the land made it necessary that the cabinet ministers and the ambassadors, every rural postmaster and every custom-house officer, and in municipal service every mayor and every department chief, be found among men who never had had any training in the particular line of work. This political principle has strongly affected the instinctive attitude of the people in every sphere. Commercial and industrial life in America show the traces of this sentiment everywhere. In no other country do men go so often and so easily from one life activity to another, or step into business with so little specialized preparation. Only the last period of American civilization indicates a change. The growing complexity and the fierceness of the rivalry have slowly convinced the nation that even the most brilliant dash cannot always be substituted for the thoroughness of specialized training. From year to year the expert has more and more come to his own in American life. In Germany exactly the opposite principle was the starting-point. The entire political organization demanded firm and fixed careers controlled by examinations for the governmental service on every level.

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This belief, deeply ingrained in the German mind, has shaped the whole German commercial world too. A man sticks to his specialty, and no one but a specialist is welcome for a responsible position. This idea that everything depends upon a thorough preparation has often, even against heavy odds, secured advantages for Germany in the market-places of the world. The young German business man who goes to foreign shores has certainly prepared himself at home for his task by a serious study of the language and usages of his prospective customers, and he brings with him his price-lists carefully translated into the foreign idiom. No country in the world has based its technical industries on such broad foundations of thorough scholarship. Some industrial chemical establishments have in their employ several hundred scientific chemists who are exclusively engaged in scientific research. This scientific spirit alone has brought the German cultivation of the fields to its present intensiveness which compensates for the character of the soil. Agricultural academies and agricultural schools on all levels of scholarship and in all branches of agricultural knowledge have spread their thorough preparation to the remotest farms. The young factory employee receives a similar training in the specialistic technical continuation schools. Everywhere theory leads to a deeper grasp of the practical requirements. Europeans outside of Germany like to tell the story of an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a German who agreed to inform themselves about the hippopotamus, and for that purpose the Englishman traveled to Egypt, the Frenchman went to the zoological garden in Paris, and the German went to the library. Every one has laughed at the rôle which the poor German plays there with his scholarly pedantry, but, seriously speaking, there can be hardly any doubt that after a short time the German would know far more about the hippopotamus than the other two. This German desire to make the mind independent of the personal chance impression and to substitute for the accidental the general which contains the experience of the whole race, has given to German labor much of its present ability to be successful in competition with much more favored countries. In short, the State and the individuals, the laws and the longings, the institutions and the emotions of the millions work together to make the Germany of to-day a tremendous work-

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ing machine destined to success by hard labor—the same Germany which seems so freely given over to pleasure-seeking and esthetic enjoyment.

One more apparent conflict in the modern Germany may be pointed out, and here it may be less possible to acknowledge the two sides as a twofold aspect of an underlying unity. Here we have a real inner contrast which is responsible for a certain unrest in the German life. But just this unrest is a condition for progress. The contrast is that between the belief in the rights of the individual and the belief in the rights of the community. The words alone would suggest that the same holds true of American life, but that would be misleading. The relation of the individual to his individual neighbor and to the nation as a whole is in America very different from the German attitude. It might almost be said to be the reverse. Might we not hold that the whole development of America has been controlled by the conviction that the highest value lies in the individual? This was the Puritanic belief; this was the belief of the English law; ultimately the whole State and its organization has meaning and importance only in so far as it serves those millions of single individuals. Their freedom, their welfare, their spiritual growth, is the aim and end of everything in the national life. But while the right of the individual to welfare and perfection is the highest goal for the American, he tries to reach this end by subordinating himself to a community in which he aims to be as similar as possible to all the other members. His individuality is for him a center of his rights, but these rights are no different from the rights of his neighbors in the community. The whole American life with its longing for self-initiative and self-assertion, and yet with its subordination to the public opinion, to the fashion, to the taste of the masses, can be understood from this point of view. With the German it is just the opposite. For him the final aim is never the individual; his aim is the life and progress of the community, not as a mere summation of millions of individuals, but as an independent unity. The American would call it a mere abstraction, or perhaps even mysticism, but the whole German life is controlled by this belief in the real existence of the general mind as against the individual mind. To the German, science and art and religion and State are realities which everybody has

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to serve without any reference to personal men. He is loyal to them as ideals and not as means to serve any individuals in the world. This abstract community is the real goal of interests and the claims of any individuals must be subordinated to it.

On the other hand, this service to the rights of the community, this living for State and art and science and religion and progress is to be achieved by every one in his particular way. This to the German is the meaning of his individuality. It is not a source of special rights to him, but a source of special duties. All his particular gifts and tendencies must come to expression; he is not to fulfil the task just as his neighbor does, but he must feel that he is expressing himself in his incomparable uniqueness, and he demands that his neighbor also do it in his own way. To subordinate himself to others means to him to prostitute his eternal right to his inborn personality.

This fundamental German demand that each one do his share in his particular way gives to the German life its incomparable manifoldness and inner variety. No one will for a moment deny that virtues and vices lie near together in this, and that this feature of the typical German often leads to intolerable stubbornness which paralyzes effective co-operation. All his little likes, and especially his little dislikes, his prejudices, and his moods must find their particular expression too. Every association becomes broken up in discordant groups, and in each group are as many opinions as members; every great party crumbles into smaller units because no one will give up the least fraction of his programme. This is, to be sure, a prolific source of perhaps unnecessary conflict. Any compromise appears a sin against the loyalty to one's convictions. A two-party system in politics would be unthinkable for Germany. The equilibrium in the German Reichstag is given essentially by four large groups, the Conservatives, the Liberals, the Clerical Catholics—the so-called Centrists—and the Socialists, but no effort to bring the Liberals, for instance, really into one party has succeeded. They are separated into three smaller parties, and the Conservatives are likewise made up of three independent parties. Finally this manifoldness becomes more complicated by the special parties of the Polish, the Danish, and the Alsace-Lorraine groups in the Reichstag. The same diversity shows itself in the

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way in which every German State strives toward characteristic self-expression. In America, Kansas and Nebraska, and even Nevada and Montana are ultimately trying to be like New York and Pennsylvania; but Bavaria or Wurtemberg have not the least desire to imitate Saxony or Prussia. Germany has no London and no Paris. However Berlin may grow, Munich and Hamburg, Cologne and Frankfort, and Leipzig and the rest will remain centers for important functions of German life. A real centralization would too seriously thwart the wish that every one contribute his best in his own fashion. Accordingly the social life offers a greater manifoldness of personalities than American life would ever tolerate. The American feels that he is in society, that he plays a rôle, and that he is acknowledged as equal if he is not conspicuous and is behaving exactly like his set. The German, on the other hand, would feel that he was acknowledged as a full-fledged member of his set only if he had a particular feature to offer by which he was different from the others. This, it must be confessed, favors the outcrop of those who seek eccentricity in unimportant features down to the level of the cranks, but certainly it creates the most favorable conditions for the development of original minds, of individual talents and spiritual leadership. In America every month sees the appearance of new magazines because the old ones are so successful and the new ones want to imitate them: in Germany, too, every month sees the appearance of new magazines, but only because the editors of the new ones are convinced that all the old ones have been unsuccessful and they want to create something different. In every field likeness to others means to the German a lack of individuality which destroys the right to exist.

We have recognized that this movement finds its countermovement. The faithful belief in the independent value of the whole as a whole, without reference to the different individuals, necessarily creates the longing for a solid organization. In the field of politics this carries with it an enthusiastic devotion to everything which symbolizes the community as a whole. This is the real foundation of German monarchy. The nation as a totality is, from this German standpoint, not sufficiently expressed by the results of popular elections. They represent the struggles of individuals against individuals. But the symbol of the totality

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must be exempt from the opinions of individuals; it must lie beyond parties and conflicts; it must be inherited and thus given without reference to personal likes and dislikes. Here, too, elements of weakness naturally creep in; above all, the reliance on the inherited monarchy with its responsible cabinet government produces a regrettable political indifference on the part of the average German. To be sure, the Socialists, who fight for a new order of things, are eagerly on the battle-field, and the Centrists are stirred up to a good fight by the Catholic Church, and certain smaller groups are politically wide awake because they fight for economic interests. But the political party life as such suffers from a widespread indolence. The typical German citizen without political ambitions does not take any trouble in State affairs because he feels vaguely that the government will take care that the interests of the community are protected. But in our time the mere confidence in the monarch and his government cannot alone secure the welfare of the community. In the complexity of modern life, with its gigantic technical achievements, the whole can never come to its own without a powerful organization. This belief in the efficiency of organization in the interest of the whole as a whole has become stronger and stronger in modern Germany. It has transformed the commercial life, it has molded the social movements, and it has finally begun to change the attitude of the individuals toward society. Public opinion, which is such an efficient organization of individual minds, has after all taken hold of the most modern life in Germany, and all its technical means such as the sensational newspaper and the muck-raking magazine have come to powerful existence. Even the fashion in the small and the large things has gained an importance which it never had before in German lands. The individual character feels himself threatened by the uniformizing tendency toward relentless organization.

Here we really have a conflict. The old German desire for individual diversity and the new belief in organization with its resulting uniformity of mind are two tendencies which cannot be completely harmonized. This antagonism of inner forces is the real problem which is at the bottom of all unrest among the Germans to-day.

HUGO MUNSTERBERG.

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THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT IMMIGRATION

BY W. JETT LAUCK

A LARGE audience was recently gathered in the city of New York to listen to a discussion of the immigration problem by a number of speakers of national reputation. The first address was made by the president of one of our largest northern universities, and the second by a distinguished archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church. Both speakers claimed the American republic was traditionally a place of refuge for the oppressed of all countries, and pointed out how the greatness of our national life had been built upon an absorption of alien peoples. The remarks of each were also concluded with a plea to open wide our doors so that the immigrant representatives of all races and nations of the present day, just as those of past years, might find for themselves and their descendants the opportunities of the new world. At this point a labor leader of local prominence, who had had an extensive association with recent immigrants, turned to a companion who was sitting beside him with the startling question: "I wonder what they would say if two shiploads, one of college presidents and another of archbishops, had landed last week, and the foreign-born college presidents and the archbishops were now trying to get their jobs."

By some persons this remark may be considered as the light utterance of a prejudiced mind. It cannot be received, however, as an expression of the attitude of organized labor toward immigration, for it is one of the peculiar phases of the present immigration situation that the greater number of labor leaders either tacitly or openly stand for a liberal immigration policy. In the light of recent developments the labor leader who asked the question at the New York meet-

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ing exhibited a deeper insight into the immigration problem than the majority of his contemporaries.

As a matter of fact, sentiment should play but a small part in deciding our attitude toward immigration of the present day, for the reason that few of the recent arrivals, with the possible exception of some Hebrews, Poles, or Finns from Russia, and Macedonians or Bulgarians from Turkey, are compelled to come to the United States because of political or religious oppression in their native countries. Neither have unbearable economic conditions in the south and east of Europe been the cause of the constantly increasing stream of immigrants from that geographical area. Industrial opportunities in the United States have undoubtedly attracted a large number who have come to this country with the expectation that after a short term of labor and deprivation they would be able to return home to enjoy a much higher economic status. The most significant feature of the situation, however, is that the flow of immigration has been artificially stimulated beyond all normal bounds by the advertising schemes and general policies of steamship companies and private labor agencies. The greater number of immigrants who now come to the United States are not animated by the desire for religious and political freedom in a self-governing republic. Neither are the majority of the recent arrivals looking forward to establishing a home in a new country where advancement is easier than in their native lands. Urged forward by misrepresentations of interested agents or transportation companies, or deluded by the glowing descriptions of friends and relatives who have preceded them, the greater number of our recent immigrants hope by thrift, industriousness, and self-denying economy to be able, after a comparatively short period of labor in the United States, to accumulate an amount sufficient to raise a mortgage, to buy a small piece of land, to engage in business, or to carry to success in their native countries some other cherished plan. After reaching this country, the majority remain permanently, but it is because of conditions over which they have no control, or, on the other hand, because after a period of residence they like this country better than their own. In neither event had they originally intended to stay.

In the discussion of recent years relative to the effects of immigration, too great an emphasis has been placed upon

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the social and political aspects of the problem. The recent immigrant from southern and eastern Europe has been more illiterate than the immigrant of former years from Great Britain and northern Europe. He has also been more of a social and political problem because of his uniform inability to speak English. There seems to be little doubt, however, probably because of greater stringency of our present immigration laws, that fewer dependent, defective, and delinquent persons are now admitted as compared with former years. Some startling disclosures, it is true, have been made within the past year as to the bearing of recent immigration upon the social evil and the importation of women for immoral purposes. It has been fairly well established, also, that some of the changes in the character of crime in this country have been due to recent immigration. Increases in the number of cases of homicide and abduction and kidnapping, and other crimes of personal violence, may be largely traced to the heavy immigration from southern and eastern Europe and especially from Italy. To immigrants from Italy, Greece, and Russia may also in considerable measure be ascribed the growth in the number of offenses against public policy, and to the Greek and Russian the violation of local ordinances in large cities. No satisfactory information has yet been secured, however, to show an increase in crime among aliens which is out of proportion with the growth in the adult population. The recent investigation of the Federal Immigration Commission also disclosed the fact that there are relatively more insane and mentally defective persons among the foreign-born than the native-born population, but the report of the same body stated that the provisions of the existing law for the exclusion of mentally unsound persons were complete and comprehensive and satisfactorily administered. Furthermore, a detailed investigation of pauperism by the Federal Commission has also shown that although persons of foreign birth are compelled to receive charity from a greater number of causes and in larger amount than native Americans, yet about equal proportions of both classes of persons are charity-seekers, and the main causes of dependency are the same in the greater number of cases among persons born in this country and those born abroad.

As regards the political condition of the immigrant population, a smaller degree of interest in acquiring citizenship

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is manifested by southern and eastern European races than by those of Great Britain and northern Europe, but even in the case of the former races there is a steady increase in citizenship corresponding to period of residence in the United States. An exhaustive investigation of immigrant households in New York and other large cities has also shown considerable congestion and the existence of living conditions of a low order, but, contrary to general opinion, it also developed the fact that a higher degree of congestion prevails in the smaller industrial cities and towns of the country than in the principal cities.

If the social and political conditions, therefore, produced by recent immigration as outlined above constituted the entire immigration problem, the situation would not be one of serious import. As a matter of fact, it is not until the industrial or economic effects of immigration are considered that the real significance of the recent influx of southern and eastern Europeans is made manifest. The greater number of immigrants obviously are attracted to this country by a demand for labor, and the majority come with the expectation of improving their economic condition. During the past forty years an extraordinary expansion in manufacturing and mining has been in progress in this country, as a result of which the number of wage-earners or industrial workers has more than doubled or has increased from two to more than five million persons. This industrial development has been made possible by the availability of the immigrant labor supply and its employment or use in conjunction with improved machinery and industrial processes. As a consequence, there has obviously been a remarkable increase in industrial output and in the permanent wealth of the country. The main point, however, is whether the extensive employment of southern and eastern European industrial workers and the resultant increase in the national wealth has been marked by a corresponding advancement in well-being of our wage-earning classes, or, in other words, whether there has been no falling off in compensation or deterioration of conditions under which the native American has been accustomed to work. When the effect of recent immigration from southern and eastern Europe is measured according to this standard its real import becomes apparent.

The term " American wage-earner " is rapidly becoming

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a misnomer. Almost three-fifths of the employees of the principal branches of mining and manufacturing in the United States at the present time are of foreign birth, and about one-fourth are of races from southern and eastern Europe. About one-fifth of the total number of wage-earners were born in this country, but their fathers were born abroad. Less than twenty per cent. of the entire operating forces of our mines and manufacturing establishments are native Americans. In many of our industries the proportion of employees of foreign birth ranges as high as seventy-five per cent., with a corresponding falling off in the number of native Americans. Among bituminous coal and iron ore mine-workers, by way of illustration, less than one-tenth are native Americans. The fact of greatest import in connection with the situation is that about one-half of the industrial workers of foreign birth are southern and eastern Europeans and Asiatics, principally representative of the north and south Italians, Poles, Croatians, Greeks, Lithuanians, Russians, Portuguese, Slovenians, and Russian and other Hebrews. This transformation in the racial composition of the wage-earners of the country has been brought about by the immigration to the United States during the past thirty years.

The most general effect of this extensive employment of recent immigrants in American industries is found in the character of the industrial communities of the country at the present time. There is no manufacturing city or town or any mining community of any importance in the Middle West, New England, and the Middle States which has not a foreign section made up of industrial workers from southern and eastern Europe. In the older industrial cities and centers of the country, immigrant communities have gradually developed and attached themselves to the original population. On the other hand, a large number of immigrant communities have come into existence within recent years because of the development of some natural resource, such as coal, iron ore, or copper, or by reason of the extension of the principal manufacturing industries of the country. In both classes of industrial communities there has been a distinct segregation of the immigrant and native-American population, and there is little contact or association beyond that rendered necessary by business or working relations. The immigrant workmen and their households usually live

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in colonies according to race, attend and support their own churches, maintain their own business institutions and places of recreation, and have their own fraternal and business organizations. As a consequence of this general isolation, the tendencies toward Americanization exhibited by the southern and eastern Europeans are small, and the maintenance of old customs and standards leads to congestion and unsanitary housing and living conditions. Agencies for the Americanization and assimilation of the immigrant wage-earners and their families are rare, and the native Americans, as a rule, are indifferent in their attitude toward the immigrant population and its problems.

The problems which have been created by immigrant communities, however, are mainly political and social. In a consideration of the effect of the influx of southern and eastern Europeans upon native Americans and older immigrant wage-earners of races from Great Britain and northern Europe, the real significance of recent immigration is to be found. In the first place, it is undoubtedly true that the entrance into the operating forces of American mines and industrial establishments of large numbers of southern and eastern European immigrants has exposed the original employees to unsafe and unsanitary working conditions, or led to the imposition of conditions of employment which the Americans and older immigrants have considered unsatisfactory and in many cases intolerable. Unlike the immigrants of past years from Great Britain and northern Europe, the southern and eastern Europeans and Asiatics have had no training or experience to fit them for the occupations which they enter in this country. Consequently they do not know conditions of living or employment which the native American wage-earners consider a necessity, and as a large proportion of the recent arrivals are illiterate and unable to speak English their progress toward American standards has been very slow. The recent immigrant, as a rule, also has very little money when he arrives in search of work, and being in a necessitous condition and without special qualifications, he has no bargaining power and is forced to accept employment under the conditions offered. As a result of the constantly increasing pressure of competition of laborers with these general characteristics, the native American or older immigrant wage-earner has been compelled to acquiesce in the conditions produced by their

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employment or to leave the industry entirely. The general effect has been, however, to retard improvements in conditions of employment and to check the advance in wages which might have been expected as a result of industrial expansion had it not been for the available supply of labor from southern and eastern Europe.

The standards of living of the southern and eastern European wage-earners have also been very low. A high percentage of the recent immigrants to our mines and establishments are single, or, what amounts to the same thing, are married men who have left their wives and children in their native countries. They are, therefore, able to adopt a group instead of an independent family method of living and to reduce the outlay for living to a point far below that of the native American. The usual household arrangement among recent immigrants in our industrial communities consists of what is popularly known as the "boarding boss" system. Under this arrangement, a fixed sum, from $2 to $3 each month, is paid by each member of a group to the head of the house or the "boarding boss" in return for washing, cooking, and lodging. The cost of the food is either divided in equal shares among the members of the group, or each member buys his own food and has it separately prepared. In many cases, especially among the Bulgarians, Greeks, Ruthenians, and Slovenians, all the rooms of the houses occupied are used for sleeping purposes and as many persons as possible are crowded into one room in order to reduce the per capita rent payment. As a consequence, a higher degree of congestion with all its attendant evils is found in the immigrant households of our industrial communities than in the large cities. Both in our cities and industrial communities, however, the main consideration of the recent immigrant is to live as cheaply as possible, and under the "boarding boss" system, the general monthly living expenditures of the average immigrant industrial worker of recent arrival in the United States do not exceed fifteen dollars, and in the case of the members of a number of races the average cost of living is much lower. As a matter of fact the earnings of the immigrant male heads of families are usually so meager that supplementary funds have to be provided by taking boarders or lodgers into the home, or through contributions of children who are placed at work as soon as possible. Of

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more than 22,000 immigrant wage-earners, eighteen years of age or over, who were studied by the Immigration Commission, the average annual earnings were only $455. The average annual income of immigrant families was also only $704. In the case of a number of races from the south and east of Europe, the average for all wage-earners as well as for heads of families was less.

Another significant result of the extensive employment of southern and eastern Europeans in mining and manufacturing is seen in the general weakening and, in some instances, in the entire demoralization of the labor organizations which were in existence before the arrival of the races of recent immigration. This condition of affairs has been due to the inability of the labor-unions to absorb within a short time the constantly increasing number of new arrivals. The southern and eastern Europeans, as already pointed out, because of their tractability, their lack of industrial experience and training, and their necessitous condition on applying for work, have been willing to accept, without protest, existing conditions of employment. Their desire to earn as large an amount as possible within a limited time has also rendered the recent immigrant averse to entering into strikes which involved a loss of time and a decrease in earnings. The same kind of thriftiness has led the immigrant wage-earner to refuse to maintain his membership in the labor-unions for any extended period and has consequently prevented the complete unionization of certain occupations in some cases, and, in others, the accumulation of a defense fund by the labor organizations. The high degree of illiteracy among recent immigrants and the inability of the greater number to speak English have also caused their organization into unions by the native Americans and older immigrants to be a matter of large expense. The difficulty of the situation, from the standpoint of the labor organizations, is further increased by the conscious policy of the employers of mixing races in certain departments or divisions of industries and thus decreasing the opportunities for any concerted action because of a diversity of language in the operating forces. In mining operations, by way of illustration, in many sections, no one race is permitted to secure a controlling number in the operating forces of a single mine or mining occupation because of the fear that a common language would enable them to be readily organ-

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ized for the purpose of seeking redress for real or fancied grievances.

The impossibility of competing with the recent immigrants or of educating them to demand their own standards of living and conditions of employment has voluntarily or involuntarily led to the displacement in many industries and occupations of native Americans and older immigrants from Great Britain and northern Europe. These displacements have manifested themselves in two ways. In the first place, many of the original employees have entirely withdrawn from the industry or have migrated to other sections of the country where the pressure of the competition of the southern and eastern European was not so strongly felt. The situation in the bituminous coal industry is illustrative of this tendency. Recent immigrants first found employment in large numbers in the mines of western Pennsylvania. The native Americans and older immigrants attempted to control the incoming labor supply, but by the year 1895 were completely inundated. The labor organizations were also disrupted, and finally the early employees practically abandoned the western Pennsylvania field and sought work in other industries in the same section or moved to the coal-producing areas of the Middle West, where the southern and eastern Europeans had not penetrated in considerable numbers. The pressure of competition of the recent immigrants in the mines of the Middle West, however, soon became so strong that the native Americans in large numbers migrated to the mines of Kansas and Oklahoma. Within comparatively recent years, southern and eastern Europeans have in increasing number found employment in the mines of the southwest, and the older employees have again been retreating farther westward to the coal and metalliferous mines of Colorado and other States. On the other hand, there has been in the case of all the principal branches of mining and manufacturing a series of displacements from, or in other words, segregation into, distinct occupations within the industry. This tendency, as contrasted with the abandonment of certain occupations or industries to recent immigrants, has been largely psychological in its nature, and is the result of the feeling uniformly met with in all of our industrial communities that a certain social stigma or lack of respectability attaches to native Americans or older immigrant wage-earners who do the same kind of work as

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southern and eastern Europeans. It is the outgrowth of racial prejudice and has always been operative in our industrial establishments. As early as 1840 the Yankee girls who were operatives in the New England cotton-mills abandoned the looms and spindles because of the employment of Irish-women. At a later date the Irish in like manner demurred at the entrance into the mills of French-Canadian girls, and at the present time the French-Canadian female operatives are leaving the cotton factories because of the employment of Polish and other women of recent immigration. In the case of certain industries it is also true that the native Americans have abandoned occupations such as that of pick or hand mining in some of our bituminous mining fields, because of the danger of working by the side of the newcomer from the south and east of Europe. Whether arising from one cause or another, or whether the displacements have resulted in the segregation into certain occupations within or abandonment of the industry by native Americans and older immigrants, they have usually been attended with an economic loss or lower remuneration for the original employees and have directly or indirectly resulted from the impossibility of competing with the incoming immigrant labor supply. Only in the case of a small proportion of native Americans and older immigrant employees has an advancement in the scale of occupations been made possible by the increase in the number of executive and skilled positions due to the expansion within recent years in all branches of mining and manufacturing. The general tendency in our industrial development, however, has been constantly to eliminate the element of skill by the invention of new machinery and processes, and consequently to decrease relatively the number of occupations requiring training and experience.

When the effects of recent immigration, as briefly outlined above, are considered in connection with the fact that the movement to this country has not arisen from political or religious oppression or intolerable economic conditions abroad, it is at once evident that the immigration of the present day is fundamentally an economic or business problem. In analyzing the results of its exhaustive investigations the Immigration Commission formulated for its own guidance the following general principles:

"1. The measure of the rational, healthy development of a country is not the extent of its investment of capital, its output of products, or its

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exports and imports, unless there is a corresponding economic opportunity afforded to the citizen dependent upon employment for his material, mental, and moral development.

"2. The development of business may be brought about by means which lower the standard of living of the wage-earners. A slow expansion of industry which would permit the adaptation and assimilation of the incoming labor supply is preferable to a very rapid industrial expansion which results in the immigration of laborers of low standards and efficiency, who imperil the American standard of wages and conditions of employment."

Upon applying these principles to the facts brought to light by their investigations the commission was unanimously led to the opinion that: "further general legislation concerning the admission of aliens should be based primarily upon economic or business considerations touching the prosperity and economic well-being of our people." As a consequence, the commission in its report to Congress recommended that the incoming immigrant labor supply should be checked either by imposing a larger head-tax, by requiring incoming aliens to be in possession of at least twenty-five dollars, or by compelling them to undergo a literacy test. By the adoption of one of these measures it was thought that the number of unskilled laborers annually entering this country could be limited to a point where their absorption into our industrial system would be possible without injury to or the retarding of the natural progress of the native American and the older immigrant wage-earners. To accomplish this end is in reality the immigration problem.

W. JETT LAUCK.

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CHARLES DICKENS: A TRIBUTE

BY AGNES LEE.

Who is the little quiet London drudge
Plodding at eve through mist and misery,
Warming his heart at the world's flickering fire?
Who is the young recording wanderer,
Threading, at some rare hour of liberty,
The dim and narrow windings of the town,
Where men and women pass and go their ways,
Unconscious pictures of an art to be,
And heeding not the ever-heedful boy?

'Tis he who liveth in our midst to-day,
If heaven accord us worthiness to know
The radiant spirit shining o'er our threshold,
Spirit immortal, childlike, of a man
Who won the world with laughter and with tears,
Whose pen, a sounding arrow, pierced the core
Of evil and awoke a race from slumber
To look with seeing eyes upon oppression.

Strong to draw healing from the haunts of pain,
From out the festering dark of circumstance
He freed the little unextinguished lights.
Brave to find beauty's form in all, he spied
The blade of grass between the grimy cobbles.
His home the crowded street, the intricate byway,
Where he might lose or gain his fancy's creatures,
His soul went forth, and, filled with plot and plan
And weft of dreams that waited to be woven,
Sought life's enigma, knew the subtle charm
That lingers in a melancholy stair
Forgotten feet have pressed, a moldering wall,
A window touched by myriad unseen hands.

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Humanity was knocking at his heart.
He flung it wide and showed the waiting store:
A brook for sorrow's thirst, a loaf for hunger,
A flowering staff for honor's deep emprise.
Attuning every note to life's one music,
Whether a tremulous delight, or sound
Of minted coin that falleth upon stone,
He wrought in kingly power to achieve
Triumph of mercy and defeat of malice.
Dear master, still he lives, who laid his hand
With such a tenderness upon his time,
He lives, with kindly ridicule and love
To fight the buzzing fads of this our day,
And feed the sacred amphora of truth!

The pageant moves. The pictures are unblurred.
How in a chain of changes they survive!
For, while humanity endures, the past
Confronts us with the types of what we are.
Lo, here amid the foremost, cometh Nell—
Never a child, yet dear to every child—
Fragile to bear her burden's loneliness,
Giving the world the sweet of charity
That varies not, though Time the burden vary.
Tom Pinch is gazing upward from the crowd,
And needs no aeroplane to reach the skies.
Tigg Montague from out a steedless chariot
Calleth his mandate to his liveried men,
Nor careth what he rout, so he but hasten.
The pageant moves. We watch the forms go by
And know them every one, the gay, the weary,
Sun in the shadow, shadow in the sun.

Ah! well are we whom solitude may bring
To dwell within the living page, or we
Who in the throb of some vast audience
Are gathered to the glowing heart of genius,
Genius whose wide hope led to heights afar,
Whereof the song of fame was not life's all,
Nor death but the applause that cuts a cadence.

AGNES LEE.

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ON RE-READING WALTER PATER

BY RICHARD LE GALLIENNE

It is with no small satisfaction, and with a sense of re-assurance of which one may, in moods of misgiving, have felt the need during two decades of the Literature of Noise, that one sees a writer so pre-eminently a master of the Literature of Meditation coming, for all the captains and the shouting, so surely into his own. The acceptance of Walter Pater is not merely widening all the time, but it is more and more becoming an acceptance such as he himself would have most valued, an acceptance in accordance with the full significance of his work rather than a one-sided appreciation of some of its Corinthian characteristics. The Doric qualities of his work are becoming recognized also, and he is being read, as he has always been read by his true disciples—so not inappropriately to name those who have come under his graver spell—not merely as a *prosateur* of purple patches, or a sophist of honeyed counsels tragically easy to misapply, but as an artist of the interpretative imagination of rare insight and magic, a writer of deep humanity as well as esthetic beauty, and the teacher of a way of life at once ennobling and exquisite. It is no longer possible to parody him—after the fashion of Mr. Mallock's brilliancy in *The New Republic*—as a writer of "all manner and no matter," nor is it possible any longer to confuse his philosophy with those gospels of unrestrained libertinism which have taken in vain the name of Epicurus. His highly wrought, sensitively colored, and musically expressive style is seen to be what it is because of its truth to a matter profound and delicate and intensely meditated and such faults as it has come rather of too much matter than too little; while his teaching, far from being that of a facile "Epicureanism," is seen, properly understood, to involve something like the austerity of a fastidious Puritanism, and

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to result in a jealous asceticism of the senses rather than in their indulgence. "Slight as was the burden of positive moral obligation with which he had entered Rome," he writes of Marius, as on his first evening in Rome the murmur comes to him of "the lively, reckless call to 'play,' from the sons and daughters of foolishness," "it was to no wasteful and vagrant affections, such as these, that his Epicureanism had committed him." Such warnings against misunderstanding Pater is careful to place, at, so to say, all the cross-roads in his books, so scrupulously concerned is he lest any reader should take the wrong turning. Few writers, indeed, manifest so constant a consideration for, and, in minor matters, such a sensitive courtesy toward, their readers, while in matters of conscience Pater seems to feel for them an actual pastoral responsibility. His well-known withdrawal of the "Conclusion" to *The Renaissance* from its second edition, from a fear that "it might possibly mislead some of those young men into whose hands it might fall," is but one of many examples of his solicitude; and surely such as have gone astray after such painstaking guidance have but their own natures to blame. As he justly says, again of Marius, "in the reception of metaphysical *formulæ*, all depends, as regards their actual and ulterior result, on the pre-existent qualities of that soil of human nature into which they fall—the company they find already present there, on their admission into the house of thought."

That Pater's philosophy could ever have been misunderstood is not to be entertained with patience by any one who has read him with even ordinary attention; that it may have been misapplied, in spite of all his care, is, of course, possible; but if a writer is to be called to account for all the misapplications, or distortions, of his philosophy, writing may as well come to an end. Yet, inconceivable as it may sound, a critic very properly held in popular esteem recently gave it as his opinion that the teaching of Walter Pater was responsible for the tragic career of the author of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Certainly that remarkable man was an "epicurean"—but one, to quote Meredith, "whom Epicurus would have scourged out of his garden"; and the statement made by the critic in question that *The Renaissance* is the book referred to in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* as having had a sinister influence over its hero is so easily disposed of by a reference to that romance itself

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that it is hard to understand its ever having been made. Here is the passage describing the demoralizing book in question:

"His eye fell on the yellow book that Lord Henry had sent him. . . . It was the strangest book he had ever read. It seemed to him that in exquisite raiment, and to the delicate sound of flutes, the sins of the world were passing in dumb show before him. Things that he had dimly dreamed of were suddenly made real to him. Things of which he had never dreamed were gradually revealed.

"It was a novel without a plot, and with only one character, being, indeed, simply a psychological study of a certain young Parisian who spent his life trying to realize in the nineteenth century all the passions and modes of thought that belonged to every century except his own, and to sum up, as it were, in himself the various moods through which the world-spirit had ever passed, loving for their mere artificiality those renunciations that men have unwisely called virtue, as much as those natural rebellions that wise men still call sin. The style in which it was written was that curious jeweled style, vivid and obscure at once, full of *argot* and of archaisms, of technical expressions and of elaborate paraphrases, that characterizes the work of some of the finest artists of the French school of *Décadents*. There were in it metaphors as monstrous as orchids, and as evil in color. The life of the senses was described in the terms of mystical philosophy. One hardly knew at times whether one was reading the spiritual ecstasies of some medieval saint or the morbid confessions of a modern sinner. It was a poisonous book. The heavy odor of incense seemed to cling about its pages and to trouble the brain. The mere cadence of the sentences, the subtle monotony of their music, so full as it was of complex refrains and movements elaborately repeated, produced in the mind of the lad, as he passed from chapter to chapter, a form of reverie, a malady of dreaming, that made him unconscious of the falling day and the creeping shadows. . . .

"For years Dorian Gray could not free himself from the memory of this book. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he never sought to free himself from it. He procured from Paris no less than five large paper copies of the first edition, and had them bound in different colors, so that they might suit his various moods and the changing fancies of a nature over which he seemed, at times, to have almost entirely lost control."

The book thus characterized is obviously by a French writer—I have good reason for thinking that it was *À Rebours* by Huysmans—and how any responsible reader can have imagined that Walter Pater's *The Renaissance* answers to this description passes all understanding. A critic guilty of so patent a misstatement must either never have read *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, or never have read *The Renaissance*. On the other hand, if on other more reliable evidence it can be found that Oscar Wilde was one of those

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"young men" misled by Pater's book, for whose spiritual safety Pater, as we have seen, was so solicitous, one can only remind oneself again of the phrase quoted above in regard to "that soil of human nature" into which a writer casts his seed. If that which was sown a lily comes up a toadstool, there is evidently something wrong with the soil.

Let us briefly recall what this apparently so "dangerous" philosophy of Pater's is, and we cannot do better than examine it in its most concentrated and famous utterance, this oft-quoted passage from that once-suppressed "Conclusion" to *The Renaissance:*

"Not the fruit of experience, but experience itself, is the end. A counted number of pulses only is given to us of a variegated dramatic life. How may we see in them all that there is to be seen in them by the finest senses? How shall we pass most swiftly from point to point, and be present always at the focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest energy? To burn always with this hard, gem-like flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life. . . . While all melts under our feet, we may well grasp at any exquisite passion, or any contribution to knowledge that seems by a lifted horizon to set the spirit free for a moment, or any stirring of the senses, strange dyes, strange colors, and curious odors, or work of the artist's hands, or the face of one's friend. . . . With this sense of the splendor of our experience and of its awful brevity, gathering all we are into one desperate effort to see and touch, we shall hardly have time to make theories about the things we see and touch. . . . Well! we are all *condamnés,* as Victor Hugo says: we are all under sentence of death, but with a sort of indefinite reprieve—*les hommes sont tous condamnés à mort avec des sursis indéfinis:* we have an interval, and then our place knows us no more. Some spend this interval in listlessness, some in high passions, the wisest, at least among 'the children of this world,' in art and song. For our one chance lies in expanding that interval, in getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time. Great passions may give us this quickened sense of life, ecstasy and sorrow of love, the various forms of enthusiastic activity, disinterested or otherwise, which come naturally to many of us. Only be sure it is passion—that it does yield you this fruit of a quickened, multiplied consciousness. Of such wisdom, the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for its own sake, has most. For art comes to you proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake."

Now, if it be true that the application, or rather the misapplication, of this philosophy led Oscar Wilde to Reading Gaol, it is none the less true that another application of it led Marius to something like Christian martyrdom, and Walter Pater himself along an ever loftier and serener path of spiritual vision.

Nothing short of wilful misconstruction can make of the

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counsel thus offered, with so priestly a concern that the writer's exact meaning be brought home to his reader, other than an inspiration toward a noble employment of that mysterious opportunity we call life. For those of us, perhaps more than a few, who have no assurance of the leisure of an eternity for idleness or experiment, this expansion and elevation of the doctrine of the moment, carrying a merely sensual and trivial moral in the Horatian maxim of *carpe diem,* is one thrillingly charged with exhilaration and sounding a solemn and yet seductive challenge to us to make the most indeed, but also to make the best, of our little day. To make the most, and to make the best, of life! Those who misinterpret or misapply Pater forget his constant insistence on the second half of that precept. We are to get "as many pulsations as possible into the given time," but we are to be very careful that our use of those pulsations shall be the finest. Whether or not it is "simply for those moments' sake," our attempt must be to give "*the highest quality,*" remember, to those "moments as they pass." And who can fail to remark the fastidious care with which Pater selects various typical interests which he deems most worthy of dignifying the moment? The senses are, indeed, of natural right, to have their part; but those interests on which the accent of Pater's pleading most persuasively falls are not so much the "strange dyes, strange colors, and curious odors," but rather "the face of one's friend," ending his subtly musical sentence with a characteristic shock of simplicity, almost incongruity—or "some mood of passion or insight or intellectual excitement," or "any contribution to knowledge that seems by a lifted horizon to set the spirit free for a moment." There is surely a great gulf fixed between this lofty preoccupation with great human emotions and high spiritual and intellectual excitements, and a vulgar gospel of "eat, drink, for to-morrow we die," whether or not both counsels start out from a realization of "the awful brevity" of our mortal day. That realization may prompt certain natures to unbridled sensuality. Doomed to perish as the beasts, they choose, it would seem with no marked reluctance, to live the life of the beast, a life apparently not without its satisfactions. But it is as stupid as it is infamous to pretend that such natures as these find any warrant for their tragic libertinism in Walter Pater. They may, indeed, have found esthetic pleasure in

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the reading of his prose, but the truth of which that prose is but the beautiful garment has passed them by. For such it can hardly be claimed that they have translated into action the aspiration of this tenderly religious passage:

"Given the hardest terms, supposing our days are indeed but a shadow, even so we may well adorn and beautify, in scrupulous self-respect, our souls and whatever our souls touch upon—these wonderful bodies, these material dwelling-places through which the shadows pass together for a while, the very raiment we wear, our very pastimes, and the intercourse of society."

Here in this passage from *Marius* we find, to use Pater's own words once more, "the spectacle of one of the happiest temperaments coming, so to speak, to an understanding with the most depressing of theories." That theory, of course, was the doctrine of the perpetual flux of things as taught by Aristippus of Cyrene, making a man of the world's practical application of the old Heraclitean formula, his influence depending on this, "that in him an abstract doctrine, originally somewhat acrid, had fallen upon a rich and genial nature, well fitted to transform it into a theory of practice of considerable stimulative power toward a fair life." Such, too, was Pater's nature, and such his practical usefulness as what one might call a philosophical artist. Meredith, Emerson, Browning, and even Carlyle were artists so far related to him and each other in that each of them wrought a certain optimism, or, at all events, a courageous and even blithe working theory of life and conduct, out of the unrelenting facts of existence unflinchingly faced, rather than ecclesiastically smoothed over—the facts of death and pain and struggle, and even the cruel mystery that surrounds with darkness and terror our mortal lot. Each one of them deliberately faced the worst, and with each, after his own nature, the worst returned to laughter. The force of all these men was in their artistic or poetic embodiment of philosophical conceptions, but had they not been artists and poets their philosophical conceptions would have made but little way. And it is time to recall, what critics preoccupied with his "message" leave unduly in the background, that Pater was an artist of remarkable power and fascination, a maker of beautiful things, which, whatever their philosophical content, have for our spirits the refreshment and edification which all beauty mysteriously brings us, merely because it is beauty. *Marius the*

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Epicurean is a great and wonderful book, not merely on account of its teaching, but because it is simply one of the most *beautiful* books, perhaps the most beautiful book, written in English. It is beautiful in many ways. It is beautiful, first of all, in the uniquely personal quality of its prose, prose which is at once austere and sensuous, simple at once and elaborate, scientifically exact and yet mystically suggestive, cool and hushed as sanctuary marble, sweet-smelling as sanctuary incense; prose that has at once the qualities of painting and of music, rich in firmly visualized pictures, yet moving to subtle, half-submerged rhythms, and expressive with every delicate accent and cadence; prose highly wrought, and yet singularly surprising one at times with, so to say, sudden innocencies, artless and instinctive beneath all its sedulous art. It is no longer necessary, as I hinted above, to fight the battle of this prose. Whether it appeal to one or not, no critic worth attention any longer disparages it as mere ornate and perfumed verbiage, the elaborate mannerism of a writer hiding the poverty of his thought beneath a pretentious raiment of decorated expression. It is understood to be the organic utterance of one with a vision of the world all his own striving through words, as he best can, to make that vision visible to others as nearly as possible as he himself sees it. Pater himself has expounded his theory and practice of prose, doubtless with a side-thought of self-justification, in various places up and down his writings, notably in his pregnant essay on "Style," and perhaps even more persuasively in the chapter called "Euphuism" in *Marius*. In this last he thus goes to the root of the matter:

> "That preoccupation of the *dilettante* with what might seem mere details of form, after all, did but serve the purpose of bringing to the surface, sincerely and in their integrity, certain strong personal intuitions, a certain vision or apprehension of things as really being, with important results, thus, rather than thus—intuitions which the artistic or literary faculty was called upon to follow, with the exactness of wax or clay, clothing the model within."

This striving to express the truth that is in him has resulted in a beauty of prose which for individual quality must be ranked with the prose of such masters as De Quincey and Lamb, and, to make a not irrelevant comparison, above the very fine prose of his contemporary Stevenson, by virtue of its greater personal sincerity.

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There is neither space here, nor need, to illustrate this opinion by quotation, though it may not be amiss, the musical and decorative qualities of Pater's prose having been so generally dwelt upon, to remind the reader of the magical simplicities by which it is no less frequently characterized. Some of his quietest, simplest phrases have a wonderful evocative power: "the long reign of these quiet Antonines," for example; "the thunder which had sounded all day among the hills"; "far into the night, when heavy rain-drops had driven the last lingerers home"; "Flavian was no more. The little marble chest with its dust and tears lay cold among the faded flowers." What could be simpler than these brief sentences, yet how peculiarly suggestive they are; what immediate pictures they make! And this magical simplicity is particularly successful in his descriptive passages, notably of natural effects, effects caught with an instinctively selected touch or two, an expressive detail, a gray or colored word. How lightly sketched, and yet how clearly realized in the imagination, is the ancestral country-house of Marius's boyhood, "White-Nights," "that exquisite fragment of a once large and sumptuous villa"—"Two centuries of the play of the sea-wind were in the velvet of the mosses which lay along its inaccessible ledges and angles." Take again this picture:

"The cottagers still lingered at their doors for a few minutes as the shadows grew larger, and went to rest early; though there was still a glow along the road through the shorn corn-fields, and the birds were still awake about the crumbling gray heights of an old temple."

And again this picture of a wayside inn:

"The room in which he sat down to supper, unlike the ordinary Roman inns at that day, was trim and sweet. The firelight danced cheerfully upon the polished three-wicked *lucernæ* burning cleanly with the best oil, upon the whitewashed walls, and the bunches of scarlet carnations set in glass goblets. The white wine of the place put before him, of the true color and flavor of the grape, and with a ring of delicate foam as it mounted in the cup, had a reviving edge or freshness he had found in no other wine."

Those who judge of Pater's writing by a few purple passages such as the famous rhapsody on the "Mona Lisa," conceiving it as always thus heavy with narcotic perfume, know but one side of him, and miss his gift for conveying freshness, his constant happiness in light and air and particularly running water, "green fields—or children's faces."

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His lovely chapter on the temple of Æsculapius seems to be made entirely of morning light, bubbling springs, and pure mountain air; and the religious influence of these lustral elements is his constant theme. For him they have a natural sacramental value, and it is through them and such other influences that Pater seeks for his hero the sanctification of the senses and the evolution of the spirit. In his preoccupation with them, and all things lovely to the eye and to the intelligence, it is that the secret lies of the singular purity of atmosphere which pervades his *Marius,* an atmosphere which might be termed the soul-beauty of the book, as distinct from its, so to say, body-beauty as beautiful prose.

Considering *Marius* as a story, a work of imagination, one finds the same evocative method used in the telling of it, and in the portrayal of character, as Pater employs in its descriptive passages. Owing to certain violent, cinematographic methods of story-telling and character-drawing to which we have become accustomed, it is too often assumed that stories cannot be told or characters drawn in any other way. Actually, of course, as many an old masterpiece admonishes us, there is no one canon in this matter, but, on the contrary, no limit to the variety of method and manner a creative artist is at liberty to employ in his imaginative treatment of human life. All one asks is that the work should live, the characters and scenes appear real to us, and the story be told. And Pater's *Marius* entirely satisfies this demand for those to whom such a pilgrimage of the soul will alone appeal. It is a real story, no mere German scholar's attempt to animate the dry bones of his erudition; and the personages and the scenes do actually live for us, as by some delicate magic of hint and suggestion: and, though at first they may seem shadowy, they have a curious way of persisting, and, as it were, growing more and more alive in our memories. The figure of Marcus Aurelius, for example, though so delicately sketched, is a masterpiece of historical portraiture, as the pictures of Roman life, done with so little, seem to me far more convincing than the like over-elaborated pictures of antiquity, so choked with learned detail of Flaubert and of Gautier—Mr. Swinburne's famous praise of whose *Mademoiselle de Maupin* applies with far greater fitness to Pater's masterpiece; for, if ever a book deserved to be described as

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"The golden book of spirit and sense,
The holy writ of beauty,"

it is *Marius the Epicurean.*

It has been natural to dwell so long on this "golden book," because Pater's various gifts are concentrated in it, to make what is, of course, his masterpiece; though some one or other of these gifts is to be found employed with greater mastery in other of his writings, notably that delicate dramatic gift of embodying in a symbolic story certain subtle states of mind and refinements of temperament which reaches its perfection in *Imaginary Portraits,* to which the later "Apollo in Picardy" and "Hippolytus Veiled" properly belong. It is only necessary to recall the exquisitely austere "Sebastian Van Storck" and the strangely contrasting Dionysiac "Denys L'Auxerrois" to justify one's claim for Pater as a creative artist of a rare kind, with a singular and fascinating power of incarnating a philosophic formula, a formula no less dry than Spinoza's, or a mood of the human spirit, in living, breathing types and persuasive tragic fables.

This genius for creative interpretation is the soul and significance of all his criticism. It gives their value to the studies of *The Renaissance,* but perhaps its finest flower is to be found in the later *Greek Studies.* To Flavian, Pater had said in *Marius,* "old mythology seemed as full of untried, unexpressed motives and interest as human life itself," and with what marvelous skill and evocative application of learning, he himself later developed sundry of those "untried, unexpressed motives," as in his studies of the myths of Dionysus—"The spirit of fire and dew, alive and leaping in a thousand vines"—and Demeter and Persephone—"the peculiar creation of country people of a high impressibility, dreaming over their work in spring or autumn, half consciously touched by a sense of its sacredness, and a sort of mystery about it"—no reader of Pater needs to be told. This same creative interpretation gives a like value to his studies of Plato; and so by virtue of this gift, active throughout the ten volumes which constitute his collected work, Pater proved himself to be of the company of the great humanists.

Along with all the other constituents of his work, its sacerdotalism, its subtle reverie, its sensuous color and perfume, its marmoreal austerity, its honeyed music, its

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frequent preoccupation with the haunted recesses of thought, there goes an endearing homeliness and simplicity, a deep human tenderness, a gentle friendliness, a something childlike. He has written of her, "the presence that rose thus so strangely beside the waters," to whom all experience had been "but as the sound of lyres and flutes," and he has written of "The Child in the House." Among all "the strange dyes, strange colors, and curious odors, and work of the artist's hands," one never misses "the face of one's friend"; and, in all its wanderings, the soul never strays far from the white temples of the gods and the sound of running water.

It is by virtue of this combination of humanity, edification, and esthetic delight that Walter Pater is unique among the great teachers and artists of our time.

RICHARD LE GALLIENNE.

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WHY IS HISTORY REWRITTEN?

BY LUCY M. SALMON.

A YOUNG engineer was recently talking with a group of persons who are giving their lives to the study of history, and during the conversation he remarked, "Your work is of course plain sailing; you do not have to contend with such difficult problems as we do." The verdict expressed by a member of a different guild of workers in the field of knowledge possibly reflects the opinion held by many intelligent persons everywhere. The problems of history doubtless do appear simple to those not actively engaged in attempting their solution—do we not all bear with ease the burdens of others, assume with success their responsibilities, expend with wisdom their income, and invest with large profit their capital? But the student of history is not misled by outward appearances; he knows his task is not an easy one, however much so it may appear to others.

Among all the many problems that confront the historian, none is more serious than that of the necessity of constantly rewriting history. Yet to the incredulous this may seem but an imaginary difficulty. Why, they may ask, does the historian feel this pressure to do over again what has once been done? Surely, if history has been once written it ought to stand; history deals with facts, these facts do not change, and the duplication of work already done means wasted, fruitless effort. Moreover, history is an interesting form of literature, and any one who has a mind "of ordinary education and experience," as Alexander Bain has expressed it, and wields a facile pen will have no difficulty in making his contribution to the literature of history. If the facts of history do not change, and if they have been presented in attractive literary form, the historian is condemning himself to a veritable labor of Sisyphus. Why does history need to be rewritten?

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The question is not unreasonable. The largest literary output to-day is said to be in the field of history, yet much of this is apparently a duplication of what has already been done. Within the past few years in America, England, France, and Germany there have appeared various general histories of the world, usually written on the co-operative plan, all practically covering the same field. Within recent years the history of England has been written and rewritten and this not simply to afford a choice between an epitome of English history and an exhaustive description of its past, between a constitutional and an ecclesiastical history, between a history of a limited period and one covering the entire field; but in many cases the histories apparently cover practically the same ground, with the same exhaustiveness or the same condensation, and illustrate the same phase of England's past. Nor has America offered the historian a less fertile soil. History after history has come from the press, and these histories have been written by the individual historian, or through the co-operation of many historians; they have been published in one volume or in a dozen; they have dealt with the military or with the literary aspects of our past; they have presented the point of view of different geographical sections or of different political parties; yet fundamentally they are apparently the same. Nor are the conditions at all different in the case of a more remote period. From the time of Herodotus and Thucydides, Livy and Tacitus, to the current year, historian after historian has found his theme in

> "the glory that was Greece
> And the grandeur that was Rome."

And yet of all these countless histories few to-day satisfy either the writer or the reader of the past—"the six best sellers" of last year are not more effectively forgotten than are, for the most part, the works of the great historians of the past.

In undertaking to give a partial answer to the question, two great groups of reasons may be presented here; one of these pertains to the questions that deal with the subject-matter of history, and the second group relates to the improvement in methods of work.

The most obvious reasons that compel the rewriting of history concern its subject-matter, and of all of these the

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most obvious is the simple fact that new material is being constantly found. The recovery of *The Constitution of Athens,* attributed to Aristotle, "has rendered obsolete any history of the Athenian constitution that was written before the year 1891"; the recovery of the manuscript of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* made possible a new history of the Pilgrims; a previously unknown contemporaneous account of the death of Luther found in an old book in Philadelphia, and the marginal notes of a sixteenth-century Bible in the library of an American university, contribute new knowledge of the times of Luther—these are but hints of what prolonged, systematic search, or the chance of a day, may add in the way of new literary material to the stores of the historian.

Yet while the discovery of new literary material makes the rewriting of history from time to time necessary, this is, after all, but a minor element in the rewriting of history. The rewriting of history is made necessary rather because large classes of material previously unknown or neglected have been placed at the service of the historian. To-day the historian of Greece feels that it is almost possible for him to rewrite the history of Greece from its dawn until its twilight, and the history of the individual Greek from the cradle to the grave, from the study of inscriptions alone. Yet so recent and so voluminous a work as Grote's *History of Greece* shows little trace of the use of inscriptions as a source of Greek history. While it is true that Herodotus and Thucydides, as other Greek historians, made use of inscriptions, it was not until Boeckh, in 1825, began the publication of his monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* that their general use became possible. To-day we have available for the study of Greek history at least thirty thousand or forty thousand inscriptions, while Mommsen's great contribution to our knowledge of Rome has not been his own *History of Rome,* but rather his edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,* which, with its continuation, has placed at the service of historians nearly two hundred thousand inscriptions bearing on the history of Rome prior to the establishment of the Roman Empire.

History needs to be rewritten because of the growing spirit of democracy in the republic of letters. Once the records of history were practically inaccessible to all except the elect. To-day material that was previously available

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only for the few is being made available for all. The growing demand for publicity in the conduct of business, in the enactment of legislation, in the transactions of courts, has made itself felt in the opening up to all of many State records and of secret archives the use of which had previously been reserved to a few or even denied to all. Again, many private and personal records, as diaries, journals, memoirs, letters, and correspondence, are from time to time made available by the expiration of the time limit set by their original authors or owners for their publication. Frequently this material is of too personal or intimate a character to make its publication wise or advisable during the lifetime of any of the persons mentioned, and its publication is prohibited by will prior to a certain fixed date. The memoirs of Talleyrand were not given to the world until fifty-three years from the date of their author's death. The diary of John Quincy Adams remained in manuscript for nearly thirty years after the death of its author. Frequently important papers remain for an indefinite period in the possession of private families, but are ultimately deposited in public libraries or are purchased by the State, and hence their usefulness is multiplied. The papers of Andrew Jackson have but recently been acquired by the Library of Congress, and will soon for the first time be accessible to all. Much material has been unavailable for general use because but a single copy has been known to exist, and the reprinting or duplication of single copies has often made possible new points of view for the historian. Publishers long hesitated to republish works that were out of print, but they are now meeting the recognized demand for inexpensive reprints. Even so indispensable a work for the study of the French Revolution as Arthur Young's *Travels in France* was long to be found only in great libraries, but to-day may be in the hands of every reader and student.

History again needs to be rewritten in order to prune away the excrescences of tradition—in history, as in nature, "tall oaks from little acorns grow." Eginhard, for example, in writing in the ninth century his life of Charlemagne, describes the battle of Roncesvalles and enumerates among those who fell "Roland, Governor of the March of Brittany." This is the only mention in history of the hero who for a thousand years has been a central figure in the literature and the art of every nation in Europe west of

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Russia. Here, as in so many instances, an initial kernel of truth has become so surrounded by legend as to be entirely concealed, and thus history must be rewritten to separate this kernel from the worthless husks.

The poet also has laid a burden on the historian. The Duke of Marlborough is credited with saying that all the English history he ever knew he had learned from Shakespeare. This source of his knowledge must have left wide *lacunæ* in his stores of historical knowledge—*King John* gives us no hint of Magna Charta or of the meeting of the barons; *Henry VIII.* cannot be considered an exhaustive account of relations between Church and State; in *Richard III.* the king as an individual occupies the foreground; questions of succession and of rival royal lines rather than statecraft lend themselves to dramatic interest. The purpose of the dramatist and that of the historian are in a sense diametrically opposed to each other—the good dramatist must almost of necessity be found wanting as an historian, and the historian with dramatic tendencies is in danger of being disqualified as an historian. To expect the dramatist to be at the same time an historian is to expect the impossible. Yet the dramatist and the poet often deal with historical events, and not infrequently deal with them in such a manner as to give rise to serious misconceptions that must be corrected by the historian. There is, for example, a somewhat hackneyed phrase to the effect that the sea and the mountains are the natural home of liberty, and this is often taught as an historical truth. Yet Mr. H. B. George has found its source to be, not in history, which, indeed, contradicts it, but in a sonnet of Wordsworth's. Macaulay, in his *Lays of Ancient Rome,* has dealt gently with the probabilities of history, and has not hesitated to use them in such a manner as will produce the best dramatic effect. To the poet laureate must be charged many misstatements that make it necessary for the historian to follow in his wake and correct the excesses of his imagination that grow out of his official position—Dryden's *Cromwell* and *Ad Astra* may well be interchanged in their eulogies of Cromwell and of Charles II.

Another reason for rewriting history is the necessity of correcting the false assumptions of writers of history. History has often been written along the line of least resistance; and thus it has been easier to write history by the deductive

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rather than by the inductive method, to assume an hypothesis either through carelessness or ignorance, and to make facts, if any are used, conform to these assumed theses. These assumptions, frequently clothed in language that carries conviction, usually deal with large generalizations and are often extremely difficult to disprove. Many of them are the familiar coin of the pseudo-historian, and many of them have passed current even till to-day. Among the favorite assumptions that have gained currency are those that the western division of the Roman Empire fell in 476, that the belief that the year 1000 was to bring the end of the world was universally accepted, that Peter the Hermit instigated the first crusade, that the fall of Constantinople introduced Greek learning into the west, that taxation without representation caused the American Revolution, that Washington as a boy chopped down his father's cherry-tree, that Jefferson tied his horse to a fence and walked alone to his Inauguration. These assumptions and their kin, whose numbers are legion, crowd the pages of history, and their presence there affords one of the most fruitful reasons why history has to be rewritten.

Next of kin to these false assumptions, on the part of writers of history, are the false and perverted statements of historians. Perhaps no period of history has afforded so inviting a field for these false statements as has that of the French Revolution. The temptation has been strong to write of it in terms of black or white, and the temptation has not always been resisted. Carlyle may not have been the chief of sinners in his treatment of this period—Lamartine preceded him in point of time, and his *The Girondists* set the example for an impassioned, rhapsodical view of the times, while Hillaire Belloc, in his *Ten Lines of Taine,* has shown that the succession has been maintained. But it has been Carlyle that has given us word-pictures that have held up to scorn and ridicule the chief actors of the period—pictures that have clung in the mind and are with difficulty dislodged in spite of the painstaking efforts of accurate historians to set the matter right. The historian of to-day must, indeed, feel that "he is wounded in the house of his friends" when his predecessors have been at little pains to ascertain the truth in regard to the past and have preferred to give a picturesque version of imaginary events rather than a sober, accurate account of what really oc-

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curred. It is much to be regretted that the writing of history has always suffered and must always suffer from the inability of historians to know the facts of the past. But it is little less than tragic that so many historians able to reconstruct the past aright are forced to spend a large part of their lives in attempting to correct the errors made by careless, indifferent, ignorant writers who pose as historians.

History must be rewritten to correct the personal equation. All histories written during the supremacy of a strong line of kings, or of a powerful political party, or emanating from an influential church organization, are prone to be affected by the personal elements involved. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion,* with the best of intentions, could scarcely fail to be colored by the ultimate success of the Royalist party. For nearly two hundred years after its downfall, all histories of the Commonwealth were written by representatives of the Royalist party, and the publication of Cromwell's *Letters* was necessary to correct the personal equation in the work of previous historians, as it has in turn been necessary to correct the work of Carlyle by that of Firth. Text-books used in the schools of the north and of the south are still far apart in their treatment of our own Civil War, yet ultimately they must approach each other as the personal and sectional element in each is eliminated.

History must, therefore, be rewritten because many questions affect the subject-matter with which it deals—new material is constantly being discovered; material previously inaccessible is made available for the use of all; tradition must be separated into its component parts; poetry must be regarded as poetry, and not interpreted with literal exactness; the unsubstantiated assumptions of historians must be investigated; the false and perverted accounts of pseudo-historians must be set right; and the personal equation of former historians must be corrected. Were no other factors involved in the problem aside from those that affect the material with which history deals, it is not too much to say that the history of every period and of every subject that has ever been written would have to be rewritten.

But weighty as are all these reasons for rewriting history, even more weighty ones are found in that class that relates to improvements in methods of work. These include not

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only improvements in technique, but the fundamental ones that are involved in methods of research, those that grow out of the application of the principle of division of labor, and others that come through the development of other branches of knowledge, while increasing precision and growing refinements of classification have affected for the better the methods of the historian, as these have also been affected by the realization of the important part played both by the constructive imagination and by the development of the science of historical criticism, and most of all by the substitution of the inductive for the deductive method.

The activities that are involved in methods of research concern first of all the discovery and location of historical material. As one of the great works of the astronomer of to-day is charting the heavens, so one of the tasks of the historian of the day is charting the location of historical material. Sixty thousand new worlds are reported to have been discovered as a result of the observations of one department of the Carnegie Institution, and the net results of this one department bid fair to be rivaled by the amount of important historical material located through different agencies. In more than one country is found to-day a great center of activity charged with the task of finding out what material exists for the study of definite periods of history. In America the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has already sent its representatives to England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and Mexico to investigate the location and the condition of manuscript material available for the study of American history in its international relations. In England workers in the Public Record Office are making the treasures of the office available for historians. Conferences of archivists discuss the relative advantages of keeping and of making serviceable the documentary material of every country.

But the locating of material implies the succeeding step of preparing it for the use of the historian, and this involves first of all, as far as it has to do with literary material, the question of editing manuscripts. The time is not beyond the reach of memory when any writer or teacher who was broken in health or had made a partial failure in his profession was believed to be abundantly qualified to act as an editor. Happily for historical research those days are past. The principles of correct, reasonable editing

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have been worked out from both theory and experience, and they have been incorporated in such perfect illustrations of ideal editing as is seen in Stevens's *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America,* Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations,* and Paltsits's *Minutes of the Executive Council.* The editor no longer corrects the spelling, the grammar, the phraseology, and the moral sentiments of the authority he is editing in order to make them conform to the standards of his own day, but he gives the original manuscript or printed page in precisely the same form as when it came from the hands of the author. It is a far call from Jared Sparks, with his pious emendations of the language and morals of Washington, as is shown by a comparison of the original manuscripts with the form they assume in the *Works* as edited by Sparks, to the later edition of Washington's *Works* as given by Mr. Worthington C. Ford. The work of the editor has been facilitated, as well as in a sense made more difficult, by the increasing demands made upon the copyist and the transcriber. Formerly any one could act as a copyist. Now so exacting are the demands made by editors on the copyist that copying and transcribing are professions in themselves. With the increasing demands made by historians on the editor, and by the editor on the transcriber, a perfection well-nigh impossible to attain has come to be expected. The aid of photography has been evoked, and the editor is content with nothing short of the facsimile of the manuscript or the rare printed page to put before his readers as the text for his editorial work. International congresses, as those at Liège and Brussels, are called to consider the question of the best methods of reproducing manuscripts, coins, and seals so as to make them generally available for scholars. The work of representatives of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in connection with photographing manuscripts in European archives shows how rapid has been the progress in meeting the demand for the absolutely perfect reproduction of historical material.

But beyond the locating and the editing of manuscript material lies the question of the selection of material from the standpoint both of authenticity and of authoritativeness. Time was when everything that was in print "went," but in recent years the reputation of more than one so-called

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history has been shipwrecked on the rock of taking everything in print at its face value. The work of every historian is to-day discredited unless it carries with it indisputable proof of the reliability of the sources on which it is based, and it is because of ignorance of this fundamental principle, indifference to it, or disregard of it in the past that the burden is now laid on the historian of doing over again a large part of the work once considered final.

History needs to be rewritten because into the work of the historian, as into every other field of human activity, has entered the principle of division of labor. Once the historian was like the man who decides to build a house and then himself digs the cellar, lays the foundation walls, does the carpenter work, and decorates the interior. Oliver Wendell Holmes comments on the house that its owner boasted he had built entirely by his own hands, "It is better to be built in that way than not to be built at all." The historian was long forced to be "jack of all trades"—he collected his material, he examined its authenticity, passed upon its authoritativeness, and combined the results of his work into an historical narrative. To the result not even Dr. Holmes's phrase could be applied—the history was written, but it had better not have been written at all, since it has been necessary to do over again the work, beginning at the very foundation. If a history is tainted with inaccuracy, if its conclusions rest on insecure premises, if its foundations are on shifting sands, then it must be rewritten, and it is inevitable that this must be the case when the historian attempts to perform the work of the historical architect, builder, mason, plumber, and decorator. But to-day division of labor comes to his relief. Great editors have mastered the art, the science, and the technique of editing manuscript material, and the historian can avail himself of the expert knowledge of the editor. The bibliographer also has relieved the historian of a part of his necessary work. The great work done for the historian of England by the late Charles Gross, for France by Charles Langlois, and for America by the group of scholars whose evaluations of the literature of American history have been edited by J. N. Larned has all been of the greatest assistance to the historian. The historian also shares in the advantages that come to all from the extraordinary development of the library. It is the age of great librarians, and their stores of

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knowledge and their facilities for placing this knowledge at the service of all have smoothed the path of the historian, while a similar service has been rendered him by the curator of the historical museum.

The development of other branches of knowledge has made it necessary to rewrite history. In law the formulation of the laws of evidence has clarified for the historian many troublesome questions connected with the acceptance of testimony. The impetus given by science to the training of the observation has sharpened the eye of the historian, and he sees innumerable records of the past that once escaped him. The increasing study of language and of linguistics has not only opened the doors to new fields of knowledge, but it has given the historian greater precision in the use of historical terminology. The enormous strides made by the subject of psychology have profited the historian and enabled him " to go behind the face of returns " and to understand the mental processes of the actors in the drama of the past.

Another improvement in the method of work grows out of the refinements of classification that are being developed. The different ways of classifying the subject-matter of a novel are quickly discerned; its plot, descriptions, dialogue, analysis of character, development of character, local color, language, solution of ethical questions—all appeal to different classes of readers. But the composite nature of the material with which the historian deals, and the consequent necessity of determining with precision its classification, are less apparent. The historian finds an important record in inscriptions, and to him the inscription means its subject-matter. But the geologist is concerned solely with the nature and probable original location of the stone on which it is carved, the philologist studies its language, the artist is interested in the form of the letters, the archæologist considers mainly its age, while to the epigraphist " epigraphy is just epigraphy." In the study of coins, the metallurgist considers their substance, the artist their form, the philologist their language, the financier their intrinsic value, the archæologist their location, and the historian their inscriptions. Libraries have hitherto classified coins in as many different ways as there are libraries, with corresponding confusion in the minds of all who use coins as historical records. The admirable work of Miss A. R. Hasse in pre-

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senting schemes for classifying Government publications and all public documents, and for classifying coins and the literature pertaining to them, has shown how much has been done for the historian in simplifying and also clarifying the classes of materials with which he works, as it also shows how much still remains to be done. The obscurity and uncertainty of the past that has led to the classification, for example, of historical museums under the head of " amusements " must disappear as orderly, simple, and natural classifications are developed. But every new refinement in the classification of historical material makes it necessary to rewrite history that has been based on an obscure, confused classification.

History must be rewritten because historians are learning to distinguish between different forms of the imagination and to appreciate the value of some of its phases in all historical productions. The term imagination has often connoted literary imagination—that form that has given rise to the highest types of literature found in poetry and romance. It is self-evident that this variety of imagination must bring discredit on every work of history where it is used—poetry soars aloft while history penetrates below the surface. The occasional attempt to use literary imagination in historical literature has led to the hasty condemnation of every form of the imagination. At times even the use of the historical imagination has been condemned. The great narrative histories, like those of Macaulay and Motley, have succeeded, through the use of the historical imagination, in reanimating men and making them again actors in the theater of life. It is in large part due to this form of imagination that the historical novel owes its success. But histories written with the aid of the historical imagination have been, after all, but histories written " in the flat." They must be rewritten " in the round " through the use of the critical imagination. It is this imagination that makes alive not simply men, but abstractions: it is the imagination that enables the historian to understand allusions and suggestions; to look below the surface and to see the records of history in everything about him; to see in the marriage ceremony, in funeral customs, in the oath of office, in *viva voce* voting, in all institutions and customs, the records of what men have done since the world began. The attempt to write history with the aid of the literary

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imagination has produced a hybrid that has been neither literature nor history, as is illustrated in Gayarré's *Flowers of History;* the use of the historical imagination has given us a panorama of the past; but, while the pictures drawn have been vivid and even truthful, they have been but pictures and have lacked the reality of life itself. History must be rewritten through the aid of the constructive imagination if the past is to live again.

We have recently celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of Niebuhr's call to a professorship in the University of Berlin. It is difficult to realize that within this comparatively brief period of a single century, largely owing to forces set in motion by Niebuhr, there has been developed the science of historical criticism that has almost revolutionized the writing of history, that has made it necessary to reconstruct our views of the past with reference to the principles enunciated by him, that probably more than any other single cause is responsible for the constant necessity of rewriting history.

Another great change in methods of work that has affected the writing of history is found in the substitution of inductive for deductive reasoning. It is not necessary to accept literally Macaulay's famous apotheosis of the inductive method to appreciate the revolution that has been made in the writing of history since historians have substituted conclusions derived from the study of facts for the assumption of a thesis and the selection of facts to prove the thesis. Many histories that represent preconceived ideas, rather than conclusions deducted from a study of facts, must be rewritten in accordance with the reversal of these two principles.

To the end of time, as far as the human eye can see, history will need to be rewritten, and in that very fact lies one of its chief interests. Progress is made not by advance on a plane, but by an ever-ascending spiral where the road doubles and redoubles on itself and at every turn presents a wider outlook than was afforded from the lower level, yet the summit of the highest peak is never reached, for unscaled heights always lie beyond. Clio holds in her hand a half-opened scroll, and we shall never read its unopened part.

LUCY M. SALMON.

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THE PHILIPPINE CIVIL SERVICE AND WHAT IT OFFERS

BY JOHN R. ARNOLD

Some one has said, with more than a little truth, that for the majority of Americans the history of our most important dependency ended with the capture of Aguinaldo. Whatever the measure of truth of this statement, it has had the unfortunate result of leaving all the subsequent policy of our Government, and the reputation of the Islands in general, a target for all kinds of misleading criticism, especially at the hands of a large body of American ex-residents who, victims while here of a tropical homesickness like that pictured so strikingly in Kipling's "Christmas in India," have returned to edify their sympathizing relatives and the editor of the local paper with accounts of the disadvantages—for the most part either imaginary or distorted—that make the Philippines, in their words, "no place for a white man."

The atmosphere thus created tends continually to hamper us in our task of maintaining in the Islands a reasonably stable body of American civil servants, equipped for their task not only by their knowledge, but by their mental attitude; and increases what would in any case be among our greatest difficulties in that we have at home no leisure class of "younger sons" such as in England find colonial service traditionally and socially attractive, while the pressure of numbers in the learned and technical professions is not yet great enough to force young men to seek such a distant field of work.

It is precisely because these difficulties exist that we who are still, more or less consciously, taking an active part in this great and novel experiment in the government of an undeveloped people owe it to ourselves, not indeed to claim that conditions here are millennial, but to state, what I be-

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lieve to be the truth, that the work we are doing is one in which the energies of educated men can be worthily employed; and that, furthermore, the opportunities of the members of the Philippine Civil Service with respect to income, tenure, and such incidental matters as travel, amusement, and social intercourse have been generally misconceived and underrated. It will be my purpose now to make plain the reasons on which this opinion is based.

The first point, clearly, is to show with what prospects and by what means a man who has once become interested can secure an opening. Examinations, as the result of which nearly all new appointments are made, are given periodically in the principal cities of the country by the United States Civil Service Commission. Some of them are of a technical nature intended to secure men trained as physicians, surveyors, accountants, and so forth; others are more general in their scope, as, for example, the teachers', stenographers', and assistants' examinations. The first of these two latter have the reputation of being fairly difficult of their kind, but they are hardly novel enough to require any detailed description; the last is intended to test the general education of such candidates as have no special "trade." With the exception of "Colonial Government" and possibly "Economics," none of the subjects presuppose a college training, nor are the questions, as a rule, very profound; but they do cover a great deal of ground, they demand an extensive and accurate knowledge of details, and the marking is pretty rigid. A general average of seventy per cent. is required as a passing grade. Supposing this to be attained, the applicant's prospects of actual appointment will, of course, depend on a great variety of considerations about which it is hardly possible to generalize. Technical men are often badly needed; others, under present conditions, have what may fairly be called a good chance. In any case the taking of the examination opens a fair field, while at the same time it involves little expense and no risk whatever.

Once the applicant has arrived at the point where the choice between acceptance and rejection lies in his own hands, the question of most immediate concern is the amount of salary offered; and this is to be considered, if the figures are to have any value, in direct connection with the normal rate of expenses in the community where he must live. Most technical and professional men are at present appointed with

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salaries of at least fourteen hundred dollars; but the general rule is to start Americans newly arrived from the United States at twelve hundred. These latter are enrolled in the lowest of nine grades or "classes," the compensation of which increases at intervals of two hundred dollars up to Class Five at two thousand, and thence at intervals of two hundred and fifty. Promotions must ordinarily be of not more than one class and not less than a year apart, though the first may come at any time after six months of probational service; under any other circumstances an increase of salary is approved only in cases where unusual merit or greatly increased responsibility is shown to exist. It would plainly be dangerous to attempt any very definite statement as to the rapidity with which an appointee under these conditions can expect to be advanced; but one thing, of course, is true of this service as of practically every calling: there is a period of a few years, say three to five, during which any employee who shows himself reasonably intelligent and energetic may expect to be promoted up to a certain point without waiting for special vacancies to occur. Outside of some teaching positions, the salaries of which are arranged on a different scale, it is safe to say that such a man in the Philippines, if appointed at twelve hundred dollars, may consider as fairly certain a second promotion to sixteen hundred before the end of this period; and a third, to eighteen hundred, as well within his reach. Those who entered originally in a higher class should be proportionately better off.

It is better to postpone for a moment any discussion of the chances for advancement beyond this point in order to take up, while these figures are fresh in the reader's mind, the question of the purchasing value of these salaries as expressed in terms of the cost of living in this part of the world. This is far from an easy matter, because on such a point a clerk transferred from a departmental position in the City of Magnificent Prices must evidently have a standard of judgment very different from that of his fellow just arrived from the rural South or West. Still, it is beyond reasonable dispute that any American must be prepared while resident here for certain increases in his expenses and obligations. Rents are high everywhere, owing chiefly to the comparative scarcity of buildings which from the Occidental point of view can be called comfortable or even

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decent. Board is relatively high, because all places which cater to Americans serve for the most part imported articles; and a judicious compromise between native and foreign diet, though probably more hygienic as well as cheaper, is very hard to obtain. Laundry, moreover, in this land of white clothes is bound to be a heavy item. Taking all this into consideration, it may be said that the lowest usual cost of reasonably good board and lodging for a single person is thirty-five dollars a month, increasing in some situations to thirty-seven and a half or forty. Higher rates are often charged by more pretentious establishments, but can hardly be looked upon as normal. To any of these must be added a sum of approximately five dollars a month for laundry. In the case of families, it is a little dangerous for one not qualified by experience to attempt to give estimates; but I believe that the living expenses, including laundry and necessary servants, for a family of two could seldom fall short of double the minimum for one person, say seventy dollars, and would rise from this point with increasing numbers and the individual's notion of what his comfort and social position demanded.

It is necessary also to take into consideration a certain increase in the cost of many miscellaneous articles, resulting both from the expense of importation and from the high profits naturally expected by foreign merchants, especially Americans. As might be inferred from this, much can be saved by trading in the more out-of-the-way places, especially with the Chinese, remembering, by the way, that with this peculiar people one needs a certain "canniness" and no little patience to avoid barefaced cheating. This item of extra expense cannot be figured out with any exactness, but it must be reckoned with.

Last of all, the American here is confronted with a new obligation—that of providing for the transportation when returning to the United States of himself and any who may be dependent on him. The expense of coming to the Islands does not have to be considered, as it is advanced by the Government and does not ultimately come out of the employee's pocket. Without going into details, it may be said that the man who is figuring on the basis of a three years' stay (the minimum if he intends to return for a second period) must lay by in one form or another, as a fairly liberal provision for his own transportation, from seventy-five

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to a hundred dollars for each year of this stay, plus a similar amount for any adult of his family or half as much for a child. Passage can frequently be secured to San Francisco on an army transport at a cost of about thirty dollars for each person, but this can in no sense be relied upon.

It is now desirable to sum up these scattered figures in regard to salaries and expenses, and to see just what light our knowledge of the latter throws on the vexed question of the purchasing value of the former. If for one person we must allow from seventy-five to a hundred dollars a year as provision for transportation and fifteen to twenty dollars a month for increase in living expenses, we cannot, if we are to leave any leeway for the increased cost of miscellaneous necessities, estimate the difference between the purchasing value of a salary here and at home as less than three hundred and fifty to four hundred dollars for a single man or from five to seven hundred for one with a family. Personally I regard this estimate as generous, or something more; but, considering that the long journeys and the general atmosphere of the American colony tend to encourage spending, it would probably be wise to let it stand as an average.

If we carry the calculation one step farther, and deduct these amounts from the figures given when we were touching on salaries, it would appear that the man appointed to the service at twelve hundred dollars may, if he is single, reckon his salary as having a purchasing value, after all deductions, of eight hundred or possibly nine hundred; if he is married, at not over seven hundred and not improbably as low as five hundred. Substituting, however, in this comparison the salaries which, it was stated, could reasonably be expected at the end of the first few years of more or less automatic promotions, the relative values would be for the former twelve to thirteen hundred; for the latter, nine to eleven hundred. These figures, unless observation and experience have greatly deceived me, indicate that the single man who enters the Philippine Civil Service at an early age —say twenty-two—is placed for some years in a position which, as compared with the average of his own age and education at home, must be called distinctly favorable. Those whose professional or technical schooling prevents them from beginning quite so early are apparently less well placed; their promotion, on the other hand, is likely to be more rapid. For the man with a family it may be frankly

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admitted that conditions are not at the start very favorable. Many do come out with their wives at the usual entrance salary; but I do not think it can fairly be called other than very risky for Americans to attempt to practise love in a cottage in the Philippines. The importance of this handicap is very much diminished, however, by the fact that, both for pecuniary and other reasons, it is clearly to the advantage of any man to enter the service as young as practicable. With the salary which, we have calculated, he has a fair chance of attaining by the time he is twenty-six or seven, he is still in a position to marry about as young as most stay-at-home Americans of the same degree of education.

In what has been said so far I have purposely avoided discussing the prospects of a member of the Philippine Service after he has once passed these first years of apprenticeship and reasonably certain promotions. This is a question on which, in speaking of any calling, it would not be very safe to dogmatize; since such prospects must depend chiefly on the occurrence of vacancies and on the impression made by the man and his work upon his superiors, while these in their turn depend on such incalculable elements as the capacity, the temperament, the luck, if you will, of the individual. Still, every ladder has its top rungs, and in the long run a fair reward will usually come to such as give their best energies; unless, indeed, the conditions which govern such matters are, in their particular calling, abnormal. If it can be shown that these conditions in the Philippines are very much less abnormal than is sometimes alleged, the result will go far to prove that our service offers about the same chances of advancement as do other careers.

The first and most striking of the arguments which would commonly be advanced against this position is to the effect that at some indefinite time this Government will be violently transferred from the hands of Americans to those of Filipinos, and that as a consequence the careers of such of the former as may then be in the service will be abruptly ended. So far as this view is based on our widely proclaimed intention of preparing the Filipinos as soon as may be for self-government, it should be enough to point out that such a course of action would not only be a grave injustice to a large body of public servants, but also a complete reversal of our present common-sense determination to make haste slowly. Our object here both can, and ought

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to be, accomplished gradually by appointing Filipinos to such suitable posts as may in the usual course fall vacant, so that when the shift of control finally comes there will be no difficulty in making fair provision for the relatively small number of experienced Americans who would then remain.

There are others, however, who advance this same argument on different grounds. They say that even if our own authorities do not consciously bring about such a catastrophe, it will probably come through defeat in war with some foreign country, through a local insurrection, or even through our own Democratic party winning an election and incontinently cutting the tow-line. Neither of the first two of these events is impossible, but doubtless most cool-headed men on both sides of the ocean would agree in pronouncing them unlikely. The idea that the third is probable is based on a total misunderstanding of the time-honored propensity of Anglo-Saxon minority parties to find useful as campaign ammunition some violent denunciation of their opponents' policy, only to recoil when victorious from the consequences of giving their threats practical effect. There is a possibility that any human organization may some day go to the wall; it exists in the Philippines as in the best-established mercantile concern, but I doubt if it is any greater.

This, of course, is not the only argument put forward to show that the path of advancement here is beset with abnormal obstacles. It is contended by many that the highly paid posts are neither so numerous nor so quickly reached as similar positions would ordinarily be in the United States. Such a statement is easy to make and almost impossible to prove or disprove. No doubt the salaries sometimes paid at home to the ablest technical and professional men are beyond the resources of this Government. It is equally true that some individuals, in any line of work, would miss their calling by coming here; but when this same claim is made offhand by any and every employee who chances to feel a trifle discontented, I for one am frankly incredulous, for the attitude is in many cases too clearly the result of a double vision which looks at Philippine and at home conditions through opposite ends of the telescope. "If we only," say these men in effect, "were employed by some one besides this Government our promotion would be as the sparks fly upward"—a frame of mind which is apt to make

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their hearers justly skeptical. The very numerous applications from former employees for reinstatement furnish, in my opinion, pretty good evidence of the extent to which this attitude is the merest self-delusion.

Another contention holds that the appointment of Filipinos, to which we have already referred, will, even if it does not actually cut short the careers of Americans, close to them the most desirable avenues of promotion. This is undoubtedly a real danger, but it ought with care to be averted. It is always possible, even if more direct methods do not seem feasible, to reserve advisory positions of suitable salary and dignity, like those in which English colonial administrators have done some of their most distinguished and indispensable work.

In the last place, it is urged that this Government has lagged behind all others of the kind as regards the establishment of a system of pensions or long-service retirement. It is a question if this has so far done much harm in practice, but it is undeniably a defect which will call before very long for a remedy. It is, in fact, already engaging the attention of those in control, and it is in all probability a mere question of time before this objection will, like the others enumerated, be fairly disposed of.

The points we have so far touched upon all relate to the purely financial and practical sides of the subject; but these, important as they are, do not always fill so large a space on the mental horizon of Americans as do the sacrifices of creature comforts and social amenities which most of them believe they must make if they are to fix their residence here. That this foreboding is to a certain extent justified it would be idle to deny; yet it would seem that many of these sacrifices have been very generally exaggerated, and that various advantages on the opposite side of the balance have not been sufficiently understood.

It is not necessary to dwell at any length on the fact that to enter the Philippine Service means living in the tropics. The worst things that have been said about the climate here have been abundantly disproved; for those who are willing to do as the Romans do, it is neither deadly nor abnormally uncomfortable. The best months of the year are very nearly ideal, while the worst part will henceforth see a large portion of the American civil servants removed to the summer capital at Baguio, in the cool plateau of

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northern Luzon. Even without this last advantage many have managed to live here for upward of a decade in at least average health and spirits. It is certainly significant that a large proportion of those who take leave of absence " to get a change of climate " do so in April or May, which brings them home at a time of year when the advantages of a " temperate " zone are, to put it mildly, not strikingly apparent. Moreover, it does not appear that dislike of the climate actually plays any great part among the reasons assigned for the resignations that take place.

Of more real importance than the living in a tropical climate is the sense of distance from home and from the great centers of western civilization which strikes the newcomer when he realizes that he must reckon the normal period of waiting for an answer to a letter at very nearly three months; or that, after reading in the local paper a bare announcement that the Sultan of Turkey is deposed or the Mayor of New York shot, he must possess his soul in patience for five or six weeks before he sees an account with sufficient details to make the event intelligible. The number of Americans who have lived here and have not felt this must be very small; on the other hand, even setting aside the system of " accrued leave " whereby employees are assured of a vacation at home at intervals of three years or more, this very deprivation carries with it opportunities in the way of travel and of living in an extraordinarily interesting part of the world, which must, at least to a good many men, be very real privileges. The first of these, indeed, has been so much exploited and abused that I rather hesitate to dwell on it; for natural as it may be to regard a two or three years' stay here merely as a price to be paid for a trip around the world, it is clear that such a government by tourists would be hard to square with any sound conception of our position. Still, even with this reservation, the chances for " seeing the world " are to be reckoned among the very greatest advantages of the service. Far fewer, of course, will be those for whom the opportunity of merely living in this part of the world will have any appeal. Yet there are some who will feel that this being plunged into the very midst of the great melting-pot in which the ambitions and ideals of the primitive Malay, of the sixteenth-century Spaniard, and the twentieth-century American are being fused into an unpredictable product—that all

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this, coupled with the nearness of the Philippines to an awakening China, and to a Japan that has become a great expanding power, to mention only two of many neighbors, quickens the imagination to a degree that overcomes the sense of exile; and it is these men who can be most unreservedly advised to come.

It is true, of course, that a residence here involves, beyond the actual separation from home, something of a sacrifice of the customary avocations and diversions of American social life. In Manila this does not amount to much more than the absence of first-class newspapers, and of theatrical entertainments outside of the cinematographs and an occasional peripatetic stock company on its way between the China coast and Australia. But in the provinces—except for a few of the larger towns—the choice of American, or, for that matter, of any Caucasian society, is likely to be pretty limited. The severity of these deprivations will, of course, depend in practice on individual tastes and habits. One who has hitherto found his chief pleasures in the closely-knit social life of a medium-sized American town will doubtless feel a sense of loss, but for most men there should be in the long run some very real compensations.

In the first place, they will find that our community, gathered from every State and Territory and from not a few foreign countries, is very tolerant of local or personal peculiarities. It has little unity; but its intercourse is characterized by a breadth and variety—an unconventionality, if you will—which is likely to be not unpleasing to men whose tastes do not happen to be cast precisely in the mold that the "social circles" of the average American town prescribe for their members. They may not find it any easier to make acquaintances, but they are almost certain to find more easily just the kind of acquaintances they would like to make. Many would doubtless say that there is another side; that local opinion is too tolerant of some things which at home would be at least frowned upon in public. It is probably true that this is not the best place to send your children or your friends in the expectation that the pressure of the surrounding community will furnish them with a moral strait-jacket. But for such as do not need that kind of garment this looseness of the social structure means an opportunity for a kind of life that has the immense advantage of being independent and yet not secluded.

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There is one other consideration which should also be at least placed before the American who is contemplating entrance upon this work: the fact that there is involved in it a very real chance for service of the kind that is not wholly for a man's self. On both sides of the ocean the somewhat blatant note with which we at the beginning proclaimed our altruistic purpose in the Philippines has died away into a whisper; to say much about it here is to incur a charge of hypocrisy or sentimentalism. Yet in spite of this I would maintain that this conception—that we are here primarily to teach the people we govern to do some things which it is practically certain that they could not now in the mass do for themselves—gives to our work a definite element of progress, in which lies its real source of strength. Such a position is morally impregnable save by a confession of cynicism or selfishness; and if we can get here enough men who take too deep an interest in the work they are doing to make such a confession, it will become impregnable from the point of view of practice as well. Nor, moreover, is this attitude incompatible with what is properly the first desire of a young man on entering any calling—namely, to advance himself. I have already tried to show that conditions in this service as to salary and tenure are, even by an exacting comparison, reasonably favorable; that to enter it means living in a most interesting world, and that the social sacrifices for which it calls are not without their compensations. It cannot detract from these advantages in the eyes of the kind of men who are most needed here to lay stress on the fact that this work, of which our country was the first to see the vision, is one worthy to be done; and that a part of the ultimate reward of those who engage in it will come when they see it progressing to a fair consummation and are able to write beside the record, *Quorum pars minima fui.*

JOHN RANDALL ARNOLD.

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JEW AND CHINAMAN

BY WILLIAM TRANT

THE Jew is a peculiar person, so is the Chinaman; and the peculiarities of the two races are not similar, but diverse. The Jews were ever wanderers on the face of the earth, and scattered so effectually that ten of the twelve tribes wandered out of existence. The Chinese, on the other hand, kept themselves within the four limits of their empire until white people forced a way through, out of which Chinamen go to all the countries of the world. The Jews, in their past, with a warrior God, were ever fighters, extending conquests and meeting reverses, as things happened, to and from every point of the compass. The Chinese fought nobody but themselves and always in their own country. In modern times this state of things is reversed. The Jews, no longer a nation, fight no one nor are ever likely to. China, consolidating into a powerful empire, has learned a lesson in fighting from the Japanese and is now ready to fight anybody.

Another dissimilarity is worth noting. The Jews have been persecuted as no other people were ever persecuted. "Suffrance is the badge of all our tribe," said Shylock, and he spoke truly. England set the pace, and when persecution had spent its fury and could do no more, their long agony was ended by expulsion from the realm. Other countries followed suit. The Jews were cut off from their fellow-citizens and were forbidden to marry except under restrictions designed to check the growth of the Jewish population; statute after statute hemmed them in, and they were excluded from all political power and their civic rights were of the scantiest.

Such persecutions (by others than themselves) have not fallen upon the Chinese—not yet, for there has hardly been time since the way was opened into the empire. But the white

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people are beginning the process, and it is noticeable that the incipient persecution of Chinamen is confined to colonies and new communities. The peoples, young and inexperienced, are narrow in their sympathies and have not yet sufficiently realized the causes of the fall and ruin of nations and empires. Hence at San Francisco, Vancouver, and elsewhere the Chinese are subjected to a heavy import tax and are excluded altogether from some places in the southern seas. In British Columbia and Saskatchewan they are denied the franchise (as the Jews were everywhere at one time), and are otherwise hampered and harassed. Such legislation is cowardly and must make an unfavorable impression upon a race so sensitive that they are ever ready to discover the profoundest gratitude for the smallest favors. The United States recently refunded to China the surplus of the indemnity fund connected with the Boxer losses. China shows her appreciation of this act (which, after all, was but one of common honesty) by sending a hundred students every year to be educated in American universities. The thin edge of persecution of Chinese then has been inserted into our legal code, and Frank Oliver, a former Canadian Cabinet Minister, did his best to drive it home by means of legislation.

It is well to notice the consequences of such persecution. Taking the Jews first, it is learned that, harassed and hindered from every direction, they found themselves obliged to rely upon their own resources and ingenuity. Every man's hand being against them, they devised means of effectively turning their hands against every man. They early perceived the power of wealth and contrived means to secure so potent an instrument, and from the beginning accumulated money and quickly developed into capitalists. The Jews are now the financiers of the world. Cabinet ministers cannot arrange a budget without consulting Jews, for they govern the money market; a triple alliance cannot be made without the three sovereigns each summoning a Jew to their council; they are the power behind every throne in the world. As Lord Macaulay wrote: "The scrawl of a Jew on the back of a piece of paper may be worth more than the word of three kings or the national faith of three new American republics." In short, the deprivation of political and civil rights has not prevented the Jews from possessing political power and civil influence. They possess

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the power and the influence, and so long as they are allowed to accumulate large fortunes they must possess them. Where wealth is, there must power inevitably be.

Will it be the same with the Chinese? Hitherto people have imagined that because the Chinaman is an Oriental, therefore he is a dullard. There could not be a greater mistake. China has a history, and if that history discover one thing clearer than another it is that the Chinese are gifted with perspicacity in a greater degree than is any other nation. In shrewdness they excel the Jew, in cunning the Yankee. Like the Hebrew, too, they amass wealth and show business acumen not excelled anywhere by anybody. White-faced nations are but just beginning to realize this, and the Chinese are only just beginning to allow them to realize it. The Chinaman, as the Jew, has discovered that where wealth is there also is power, and he is rapidly becoming wealthy, so that the position of the Jew as arbiter of the world's affairs is being threatened by the Chinaman. What cares he for import taxes, deprivation of voting, social disabilities, and all the other restrictions to which he is subjected? He knows that dollars shall sweep them all away whenever he elects to exert their influence. When he sees Jews (and others) with seats in the British House of Lords that within recent years have been bought in every sense but the technical sense; when he knows that to locate a provincial capital a legislature is bought in every sense, including the technical sense; when he realizes that a Montreal grafter will prefer a dollar from a Chinaman to ninety-nine cents from a Canadian—when he knows and remembers these things (and he does know and remember them), he smiles at acts of Parliament to impede his movements and at the thousand and one petty annoyances concocted for his discomfort, as he would at the efforts of Mrs. Partington to set back the Pacific with a mop. The Chinaman is the coming Jew.

If Canadians or Americans do not desire Chinamen within their gates, there is a method of excluding them less insulting than that which now obtains. If it be desired to keep Chinamen out of Canada or any other country, let no one employ them either here or elsewhere, and they will not come here or go there. If they are employed in any country, they are needed in that country. Chinamen will not come to Canada unless Canadians employ them. If, too,

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Canadians desire to employ them and are prevented from or harassed in employing them, it is a direct and unjustifiable interference with the boasted liberty of the Canadian subject.

When the objections to Chinese immigration are examined they do not seem weighty, as indeed do the objections to the coming of all so-called "undesirables." It is urged, for instance, that the Chinaman does not come to stay, but to make what he can and then—home again. The statement is not altogether true, but, were it so, is that not precisely what Lord Strathcona, Lord Mount Stephen, and some scores of others have done, and the process is still going on? Again it is said that Chinese cheap labor supplants the white laborer and throws him out of work. Is that not precisely what machinery does and what it is the mission of machinery to do? The whole history of immigration shows the fallacy that underlies the theory of "undesirables." The Mennonites were undesirables in Russian eyes, and yet they laid the foundations of the wheat trade of Odessa. The refugees to England from persecution in the Netherlands were regarded more meanly than to-day are the Galicians by some people in Canada. They were not allowed to enter towns, as being unfit for respectable company, but had to live in camps afar off. Yet they produced a stalwart race of workers from which many a British artisan that voted for Lloyd-George's budget is proud to be descended. The Flemings, too, were similarly regarded, and yet they introduced the manufacture of worsted into England and established the city of Worcester. The history of the Spitalfield silk-weavers and that of the potteries tell a similar story.

To some persons history has no teaching or warning, experience no lessons. Mr. Frank Oliver, Canada's ex-Minister of the Interior, whose pen and tongue have alike ever been devoted to an enlightened and broad-minded liberalism, has views amazingly distorted on the question of "undesirables." A few years ago, writing of the Doukhobortsi, he said: "They have shown themselves to be nuisances, personally, socially, and politically. Such people as these this country has no use or room for." Language of this kind indicates a lamentable incapacity to appreciate the teachings of history or to learn by experience. The Doukhobortsi are not the first persons that have behaved in eccentric fashion.

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I read in history as follows: "The early Quakers were, indeed, a sore trouble to all decent communities. Some of them went abroad stark naked 'for a testimony.' . . . A woman presented herself in this state before the Protector in Whitehall Chapel, and the same thing was done in America." England with Oliver-like zeal drove these people out of her borders. It would have been better had she treated them as Canada treats the Doukhobortsi. England lost a community the mere remnant of which produced a Bright and a Cobden. The Quakers went to Massachusetts, but there were Frank Olivers there even then. Amid wholesale cruelties she drove the Quakers from her. Neither England nor Massachusetts gained anything by their dungeons and torturing-irons. The red-skinned worshipers of Manitou showed more of the love that is the corner-stone of our faith than did the Puritan Fathers who had themselves "been persecuted by an intolerant church and government 'for conscience' sake'; and amid kindly savages our Quaker friends established Pennsylvania and built Philadelphia." England lost by this transaction and this continent gained, and we do not read that these Quakers "have shown themselves to be nuisances, personally, socially, and politically," and that "such people as these this country has no room or use for." The matter in a nutshell is that the Doukhobortsi are behind the civilization of the day, just as the early Christians and the early Quakers were behind the civilization of their respective periods. The wise policy is to bring them into line with twentieth-century ideas and not to call them names and push them aside. Their fanatical follies vanish in a generation. This digression is to show the folly in and fallacy of the "undesirables" theory. Incidentally it tells us more, and not even the follies in a state of nudity, the peculiar vagaries, the maniacal derangement of the Doukhobortsi have any counterpart among the Chinese. They do none of these things; on the contrary, they have a clean record so far as the police court is concerned. Neither Canadian nor British nor any other race in the Dominion figure less in the criminal statistics than do the Chinese.

But, say the detractors of the Chinese, they will not, cannot assimilate, and are, therefore, undesirable citizens. Is this so? Can they not assimilate, and if they cannot or will not, does it matter? The parallel instance usually

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quoted is that of the negro in the Southern States of the American Union. Mr. Bryce, in his book on the *American Commonwealth,* says the negroes are "unabsorbed and unabsorbable," but immediately (unwittingly, doubtless) he gives a reason for the delusion that is quite apart and distinct from racial or ethnological reasons. There are statutory prohibitions against intermarriage of blacks with whites, and persons in Maryland have been convicted and punished for breaches of the statutes. So far, therefore, from the negro being unabsorbable, contamination by his absorption is the one thing dreaded, or surely legislatures would not enact measures to prevent its happening. In other words, the negro and the white would assimilate but for the law that prevents them. It might be the same with the Chinaman. There are no physiological or psychological difficulties in the way. The Manchus were

"originally far nearer the European than the Chinaman; and if ages ago he had only moved west instead of east he would doubtless now be mixed unrecognizably with his cousins in the extreme southeast of Europe."

It is not difficult to show that we, too, have Aryan blood in us, and there is abundance of Tartar blood now developing the plains of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Mr. Frank Oliver may not like the picture, but he and Li Hung Chang are cousins.

But why should the improbability or inexpediency of assimilation make any difference respecting the Chinaman's position as a citizen? There is no difference as far as Jews and negroes are concerned. Chinese might, indeed would, become good Canadian or American citizens without being absorbed or without absorbing. Mr. Bryce, in his work already mentioned, does indeed say:

"Whoever examines the records of the past will find that the continual juxtaposition of two races has always been followed either by the disappearance of the weaker or the intermixture of the two"—(vol. ii, p. 514.)

Surely this is either a slip or Mr. Bryce is thinking of the ultimate intermingling of all the races of the world. The example of India proves quite the contrary. In that country there are British, Chinese, Hindoos, Mussulmans, Parsees, and a score of others keeping to their respective customs, their own religions, not intermarrying, and each maintaining a racial exclusiveness. Yet they obey the same laws, are citizens of the same country, subjects of the same sov-

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ereign. Something similar obtains in Transylvania, where are Saxons, Magyars, and Roumanians, and it is not unduly stretching the point to refer to the French and the other nationalities in Canada, and it is difficult to see what harm the addition of a few thousands of useful Chinamen would do to the negroes, the Galicians, the Doukhobortsi, the Servians, and the Roumanians already enjoying the rights and privileges of full Canadian citizenship.

People are too apt to regard Chinese as barbarians, although every school-boy can tell us that they have the oldest history in the world. It is no exaggeration to say that many of the most important inventions the world has known, many of the greatest social, moral, and political reforms, have either been copied from or anticipated by the rulers and statesmen of China. The waters of the Deluge could hardly have subsided when the yellow empire began, fire was discovered, iron found by its first ruler, and the sciences of botany and chemistry so far advanced as to be applied to the cure of disease. About the same time silk manufactures and old-age pensions were established twenty centuries before they were introduced into Europe. The temperance movement, not yet a century old with us, was inaugurated in China over two thousand years ago, and the unlucky discoverer that an intoxicant could be got from rice was banished in disgrace. At the same time government based on the popular will, with the all-men-equal doctrine, was inaugurated. Seven hundred years before Christ federal government was advocated. Of inventions and utilities, gunpowder, glass, the mariner's compass, writing-paper, public libraries, and porcelain were old before Christ. The engineering works of China, roads, suspension bridges, canals, and aqueducts awaken to-day the admiration of the expert engineers of America. Printing was discovered nine hundred years before it was known in Europe; and in the eighth century the *Peking Gazette* and the first college in the world were established, both of which are in existence to-day. Even socialism was not forgotten by China of old. It was not Lloyd-George or John Burns, but Wanganchi, a statesman in the reign of Chintsong, about A.D. 1000, who declared that

"the State should take the entire management of commercial industry and agriculture into its own hands, with the view of succoring the working classes and preventing them being ground to dust by the rich."

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An obvious retort to what is above written is that whatever the Chinese have been in the past they are now an inferior race and unfit for western civilization. This, however, is but a retort and not a reply. When did the deterioration begin and in what does the unfitness consist? Persons who know China and the Chinese do not speak of any degeneracy: quite the contrary. In Singapore there are only 3,000 Europeans, including half-breeds, and there are 87,000 Chinese. The latter are the bankers, merchants, lawyers, doctors of the island. They are, too, the school-teachers, and there is the unique state of affairs of British children being taught by Chinese teachers. In Shanghai Chinamen are as good and efficient members of the legislative council as is anybody. Indeed, it may be boldly said that everywhere, when not oppressed, harassed, and persecuted, they are equal to any others. Even in colonies and new countries that "keep them out" they assert themselves in a way that shows no inferiority.

An important matter to remember is that China never sought western civilization. It was thrust upon her and is being thrust upon her now. Says a high authority:

> "The deep feeling of the Chinese people has always been to be left alone in peace to pursue the even tenor of their way"—(*Life of Sir Robert Hart*, p. 221).

It may be all very well for us Westerners to wrap ourselves in our own conceit and say that because China did not at first appreciate our railways, telegraphs, and telephones, therefore they are dullards. It is a mistake to suppose that a civilization, because it is different from ours, is consequently inferior to ours. If four hundred millions of people say they do not want or desire western ideas, having abundance of their own, why should we force our notions upon them, especially as the only object is our own arrogant selfishness? We wish for or need their teas and silks, and we deny their right not to sell to us; and when we do buy we deny their right to come to us for payment, except under insulting restrictions. We send our battle-ships, battalions, and Bibles to force our methods upon them, and then we think they ought to be thankful for the western blessings to which we have introduced them. But they are not thankful. Yung Ching asks us: "What would you say if we were to transport ourselves to Europe and to act there as

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you have done here? Would you stand it for a moment?" As a matter of fact, even now the Chinese would like us to leave: they know we are only in their country to exploit it. Minister Wen Hsiang said to Sir Robert Hart: "We would gladly pay you all the increased revenue you have brought us if you foreigners would go back to your own country and leave us in peace, as we were before you came." With China the dollar is not omnipotent. Ethics counts for something.

The awakening of China, then, is entirely due to the policy of the white people toward the country and their actions within it. Whether the result shall be a "yellow peril" depends also entirely upon the policy and actions of the white people in the future. There is no "white man's burden" about the matter unless the white man himself makes it a burden. England and the United States are spending $10,000,000 yearly in sending missionaries to China to teach its people that they are equal to all other people, as good as any other people, as dear in the sight of God as all other people: that is to say, in heaven, but not in Canada or the United States.

China, I repeat, is assimilating western customs, ideas, and civilization generally. It may be a bitter pill to swallow, but she is doing it as a matter of prudence and precaution. She has established a complete system of education from the kindergarten to the university on the English plan; her young children are flocking by hundreds of thousands to schools of western learning. A postal service has been established with remarkable rapidity; telephones, telegraphs, and railways are spreading faster than in any other country; and commerce, manufactures, and every department of human activity are throbbing with the impulse of a new life. China, always rich in agriculture and minerals, is developing her resources by western methods. Cotton-mills and steel-mills are multiplying to such an extent as to threaten the supremacy of England along these lines. Truly, China is learning much from the white man. What is to be the result—peril or peace? This depends upon the white man; the Chinese are peace-loving, but they are proud; they desire no aggrandizement of empire, but they claim the freedom an Englishman, a Canadian, or an American claims—*viz.*, to go where he likes and when he likes.

Contact between the East and the West is inevitable; it

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is close at hand. Is it to be a friendly contact or a conflict with blood and iron? That is the question. The asking it is preparatory to a feature in the awakening of China not above mentioned. Many centuries ago China invented gunpowder to force from her rocks their hidden treasures. The white man has taught her another use for the explosive. How will she use the information? The Chinese are a quarter of the world's inhabitants; compact, united, harmonious, imperial. The inventor of standing armies many centuries ago, China will have next year an army of four millions of soldiers, or more than the combined armies of the British Empire, Germany, France, and the United States, and the soldiers are real soldiers. General Gordon, Lord Wolseley, General Ian Hamilton, and many others testify that the Chinese soldiers are equal to any others and not to be surpassed as artillerymen. China is arming quietly, steadily, and mechanically. She is drilling carefully, far-seeingly, patiently, and with an entirely new spirit. She is building arsenals. One of them at Hanyang is manufacturing 50 Munro rifles and 25,000 cartridges every day, and 100,000 shells a year. Four years ago she had 464,000 rifles and 1,058 cannon, and the manufacture is going on and other arsenals are being built. The latest news is that China is adopting the German plan of conscription. Should this be achieved, China will have an army of sixty millions of soldiers. It is also said she is anxious to engage the services of some leading British or American general to organize her military system. I hope something in this direction will take place, believing that it will tend to make the coming contact one of friendliness and to the common advantage.

What does all this preparation mean? Let us look into ourselves a little. The white man laughed at the yellow man and sent him battle-ships, battalions, and Bibles. Suppose the yellow man copies our morality and our example and comes to Vancouver and San Francisco with his battalions and battle-ships and millions of brave soldiers armed with the best arms the world can produce, what then? A simple sum in proportion shows that if the Chinese lost every battle and had killed ten men for every one they killed they would have a strong and powerful army long after the allied armies of England and the United States were exhausted. No wonder people talk of a yellow peril!

Such a disaster cannot come just now because China has

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no fleet. China never dreamed of battle-ships until the white man introduced them to her notice, and now China is organizing a navy with marvelous rapidity. Battle-ships, cruisers, gunboats, torpedoes are being built; a force of marines is being organized; naval bases are being established; dockyards constructed, naval schools instituted, and there is a Board of Admiralty on the white man's plan. The weak point in China's strength shall shortly disappear. Such a people with such an army and a navy in keeping could sweep away any likely combination arrayed against her if she once turned her force to conquest and destruction.

The question is, What are we to do about it? So far as respects the Jews the matter is settled; they forced a settlement by their wealth, ingenuity, and persistency. They are now as other people, except an occasional recrudescence of medieval intolerance toward the poorest classes of Jews in some of the countries of eastern Europe. The Jews have survived one empire after another of their oppressors, but have never had an empire of their own. If success has attended their efforts with all their immiscibility, a character so unattractive, even repellent, their shortcomings even in righteousness, and their insignificance in everything else, without poetry, without science, without art, and without character, what shall be the result with the Chinese, with their intense solidarity, their marvelous industry, with faith in their new destiny, with a history, literature, and science that are and have ever been the wonder of the world?

China cannot be kept bound in her geographical empire forever. The history of the world shows the fatuousness of the notion. Nor will the overflow be across the plains of Asia and Europe, as was the great movement of long ago. It will take the line of least resistance—*viz.*, across the Pacific.

Is it not foolish to resist the inevitable? This one thing is certain: the young nations that show such little resistance to the scum of the cities of Europe and to the blackest of negroes shall meet with no support of or sympathy with their excluding policy from the mother country whose proud boast is that all peoples have protection beneath the folds of the British flag. Material advantages alone are sufficient to keep England to her old-time policy. To-day England handles one-half of the entire vast trade of China. (Why should not Canada have a share?) England owns

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more than half the shipping that throngs Chinese waters, her welfare is bound up with China's welfare, and yet neither nation has ever objected to any other nation coming in for a share.

The real "yellow peril" is not the competition of Chinamen here, but industrial competition in their own country, as Goldwin Smith and Minister Lyon Mackenzie have pointed out. Orientals are not deficient in industrial quality. They "are the most satisfactory workmen that have come to the United States." Their navvies constructed the transcontinental railways of America. It is true that Chinese workmen are rivals of Canadian and American workmen, as the Asiatic railway servants were rivals of English railway servants in India thirty-five years ago. The matter was adjusted by the admission into the trade-union of their Hindoo competitors, and the Canadian and American unions should follow that example. They will have to do it at last, and may as well do it at first.

Napoleon said of China: "There lies a giant sleeping. Let him sleep, for when China moves it will move the world." The white man has awakened the giant, and China is moving. She is making history. The Jews are buying up Palestine and are gathering there to await the coming of their king. Perhaps with them history will repeat itself. Chinese history is not repeating itself: it is new history that is being made, and we, willy-nilly, have to share in that history. Prudence and ethics alike dictate that we shall treat China as we would have her treat us, as she does treat us. Our duty, then, is to throw aside racial prejudices and animosities and to recognize common interests, obligations, and advantages with the mighty nation with nothing between us and it but a ten days' trip across the ocean. Whether we are to work together as brothers or fight to the death rests entirely with the white man. The responsibility is great, because war would be not merely between nations, but between hemispheres.

WILLIAM TRANT.

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A CARIBBEAN DERELICT

BY W. P. LIVINGSTONE

THE protection of the Panama Canal when it connects the Atlantic and Pacific oceans has been met to a certain extent by the decision of the United States to construct fortifications at Colon and Panama, but the possible sources of danger in the situation extend farther than the immediate vicinity of the works. It will be found necessary not only to provide for local defense of the Canal, but to acquire a larger measure of control over the waters on both sides of the Isthmus, and particularly of the Caribbean Sea, from which an attack could most easily be delivered.

It is true that the position of the United States in the West Indies is now less disadvantageous than it was before the Spanish-American War. There is no longer an unbroken front of foreign outposts extending from Florida to South America. Of the islands lying in the direct route to Central America one, Puerto Rico, has passed into her possession; another, Cuba, is under her protectorate and has supplied her with naval bases of the greatest strategic value. But between these two is situated another, which, although more than any other the key to the Caribbean, is practically derelict from a social and political point of view. The larger half is occupied by the republic of Santo Domingo, with a small Spanish-speaking population; the western portion by the black republic of Haiti, in which the language is French. The island is one of the most beautiful and fertile in the world; the land rises from sea level to peaks seven to twelve thousand feet high and embraces many varieties of climate. On the plains one finds the usual tropical conditions, whilst on the hills the writer has ridden over undulating ground which might have been mistaken for Scottish pasture-ground, and has been unable to sleep at night on account of the cold. Apart from its physical attractions it possesses

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natural sites for naval harbors and coaling-stations unequaled in the West Indies. In the east Santo Domingo has Samaná Bay, a well-sheltered indentation thirty miles long, bordered by luxuriant cacao and tobacco lands; and in the west Haiti has, opposite the American acquisition of Guantanamo, the Môle St. Nicolas, a harbor which fully justifies the title once applied to it of the Gibraltar of the New World.

Santo Domingo has considerable relations with the outside world and is not averse to developing them. American influence is predominant, and when it became necessary to satisfy foreign financial claims United States officers were placed in charge of the customs. But Haiti takes up a different position. Racial fear and hostility have caused the natives to cut themselves off from the rest of mankind: they have few dealings with other nations and they resolutely decline to allow any encroachment on their isolation. They are careful not to give occasion to any Power to interfere in their internal affairs, and they keep clear of foreign loans and other entanglements which might menace their autonomy. "We do nothing to bring the white man here," said a President to the writer, "because we know that once he was here our independence would be gone."

This attitude has hitherto been regarded with the tolerance of indifference by the Powers who have tacitly agreed to give the negro a chance of development untrammeled by the exigencies of the higher civilization. Whether sufferance of the present state of things will continue after the inauguration of the Panama Canal is more than doubtful. The bulk of the world's shipping will pass within sight of the island, and it is impossible to conceive that it will be able to remain, as it has done for the past hundred years, self-contained, unprogressive, helpless, in the midst of a great stream of commercial traffic. The spirit of modern life does not allow stagnant conditions to exist within its sphere of activity, and circumstances may at any moment combine to bring the republics into notice and call for a reconsideration of their position.

In any settlement of their status in the future the United States must naturally have the greatest say. Haiti especially is a point of supreme strategic importance in relation to the Isthmian waterway, and it cannot be permitted to pass into hands that might utilize it to lower the prestige

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and damage the interests of America in this region. So long, however, as the existing conditions continue it will always be a cause of anxiety and an increasing source of peril to the Washington Government. Its position has, moreover, a close connection with the ascendancy of the United States in South America. Europe, which has for centuries been busy exploiting the East, is awakening to a realization of the enormous potentialities of Latin-America, and nothing is more obvious than that the whole of this vast area will yet be the theater of great events. Americans entertain the comfortable assurance that the Monroe Doctrine hedges it round with an inviolate boundary within which the United States alone acts as guardian and dictator; but the unforeseen has a habit of disturbing what appear to be settled relations and values, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that some first-class Power, bitten with the desire for colonial expansion, may, on some plausible pretext, seize a territorial advantage from which neither the suasion of the Hague Tribunal nor fear of the arbitrament of war would serve to dislodge her. Political and dynastic changes on the continent of Europe may easily have far-reaching consequences, and should any such Power not already established in the New World obtain a foothold in the West Indies it would not only materially weaken the strength of the American position, but provide a jumping-off point for further acquisition in South America. Against any such contingency, however fanciful it may at first seem, it is the duty of American statesmen to provide.

The question is how it can be accomplished. The annexation of Haiti pure and simple would, no doubt, prove the most direct and efficacious plan, and it is probable that as good a plea could be made out for this step as was put forward to justify intervention in the case of Cuba. It has been amply demonstrated that, left to themselves, neither the Haitians nor the Dominicans evince any capability of evolving a higher ideal of national life than that of autocracy and revolution. It is clear that they need to come into bracing contact with more advanced peoples before they can make headway in the art of self-government and the development of social virtues. So far as Santo Domingo is concerned there would be little difficulty in carrying out such a policy. Local sentiment is, on the whole, favorable to any régime that will insure peace in the country and

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the opportunity for quiet and continuous progress. An effort in this direction was, in fact, made in 1869, when, with the authority of the populace, a proposal for annexation was made to the United States. A commission was sent down to investigate the situation, and a treaty to carry the scheme into effect was prepared and strongly supported by General Grant, who was then President. It was, however, opposed by the leading statesmen of the day, and failed to obtain the requisite two-thirds vote of the Senate. In his message to Congress, General Grant said he had been thoroughly convinced that the best interests of the country demanded its ratification. His chief fear was that a free port would be established in the island by some other nation and that Samaná would become a great town capable of supporting millions in luxury. It is noteworthy that while the commissioners were on the spot they were desirous of extending their observations to Haiti, but were on some diplomatic pretext prevented from entering and exploring that republic. It is the African element in the island that will resent and resist any plan involving the loss of the constitutional freedom which they secured at so great a cost and the retention of which, however much they misuse it, they still regard as a matter of life and death.

Americans, on the whole, are not very anxious to extend their activities as a colonial Power. They have now had some experience of the difficulties of such a position, and there is a not unnatural reluctance among the responsible classes to bring a further batch of the colored race into a commonwealth already dominated and overshadowed by the negro problem. The most satisfactory solution of the question will probably be found to lie in some plan short of actual annexation. Something more than sentiment suggests a policy that will give the Haitians a further lease of self-government. However discouraging their history has been up to the present, the republic nevertheless constitutes what is, perhaps, the most interesting experiment in racial evolution which the world has seen, and a further chance should be given it of showing what the race might be able to attain to under better conditions than those which have hitherto governed it. The aim should be to place the country under the tutelage of a nation which, while refraining from exploiting it, would bring to bear upon the natives the outside influence that seems to be necessary to lead

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them into a higher national existence. Such a relationship the United States could establish by creating a protectorate over the republic and applying to it some such wholesome check as that contained in the Platt Amendment or in some other special way guaranteeing the stability of government and securing the efficient and honest administration of the public services. In order to maintain its authority, and at the same time to protect its wider interests in the Caribbean region, it would occupy the Môle St. Nicolas and Samaná Bay.

The United States may be reluctant to take a formal step of this character, but it will sooner or later be forced to act as a matter of necessity. General Grant was wise before his time; and the situation to-day cannot be better summed up than it was by him forty years ago:

"The acquisition is desirable from its geographical position. It commands the entrance to the Caribbean Sea and the Isthmus transit of commerce: it possesses the richest soil, best and most capacious harbor, most salubrious climate, and the most valuable products of forest, mine, and soil of any of the West-Indian islands. The acquisition of Santo Domingo is an adherence to the Monroe Doctrine: it is a measure of national protection: it is asserting our just claims to a controlling influence over the great commercial traffic soon to flow from east to west by way of the Isthmus of Darien. So convinced am I of the advantage to flow from the acquisition, and of the great disadvantage—I might almost say calamity—to flow from non-acquisition, that I believe the subject has only to be investigated to be approved."

W. P. Livingstone.

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OUR GREAT NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

BY HERBERT L. SATTERLEE

It has always been a question as to whether or not it would be a good thing to have a national university in this country. We have the other two kinds of universities—that is, those supported by the States and those established upon religious or charitable foundations. The latter are all private corporations although exerting an ever-increasing influence in public affairs. Columbia University, the largest in the United States, was started with the money furnished by a lottery; Chicago, the next largest, by the generosity of a single individual; Michigan, the third in size, by the State in which it is situated. Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania, and Cornell follow in the order named. The aggregate number of students in these six universities in 1910 was 34,318, and was a little in excess of that figure in 1911.

It has generally been considered that these universities, as well as the many others, furnished ample educational opportunities and served the needs of the country. It is as generally conceded, however, that no matter how much professional education might be represented by the diploma of any one of them, not a single university gives exactly the training that is most needed by the young men of a republic. Certainly none of them was organized for such a purpose. Most of them were molded by the traditions of the old world, more or less modified to suit the circumstances of their environment.

If it should be argued that no foreign country has a true national university, the answer is that no other country in the world needs one as much as we do. With such a variety of racial characteristics, with so many different religions, and with such divers climatic and physical conditions, a spirit of nationality must be the breath of life to our great federation of States. With no dynastic nucleus—with the

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personal element left out—in a republic, this nationalism must be to a certain extent cultivated. The ordinary affairs of every-day life do not engender it. To fit a young man to take his place as a citizen of the United States in this day and generation, what should be the most important topics in his curriculum? Surely the first should be patriotism. He should have a reverence for the flag and for everything it stands for. Secondly, he should have a respect for duly constituted authority. These two traits, more than any other, are lacking to-day in American character, and both are absolutely essential to the permanent life of a republic. To-day our patriotism is purely emotional as compared, for instance, with that fine quality of patriotism possessed by the Japanese, and which the Germans also have in such high degree. As for respect for duly constituted authority, there is none. Every one in office, from the President of the United States to the policeman on the beat, is the subject of caricature by the press and ridicule on the stage. All this adds to the gayety of the nation; but it is dangerous, and if long allowed to continue, is going to mean something lacking in individual character, the aggregate of which means national character.

It would be well that a young citizen of a republic should be taught hygiene—how to live healthfully and to take care of his body properly. His muscular strength, agility, and quickness and accuracy of movement should all be developed. In other words, he should be trained to be as nearly physically perfect a man as possible.

And to be able to appreciate what his country is and what place it has (and ought to have) among the powers of the earth, he should be taught something about other nations. Further, every young citizen of a republic should be capable of manual self-support. No matter what other and higher education might be given him, he should be taught a trade. Even a man who is to have a professional career or intends to go into business would have a broader view of life if his hands were so far trained that he was a reasonably good carpenter, machinist, electrician, painter, or the like.

These are perhaps the five cardinal principles for the training of boys who are going to be the healthy, broad-minded men who shall keep this republic virile and strong to fulfill its destiny. And which of the American universities in existence to-day gives such a training? In none of

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them except those which have a quasi-military character is there any attempt to teach patriotism or respect for authority. In almost all of them athletics are outside the regular curriculum. In but few is instruction in a trade compulsory, and in not one of them is there any attempt to give a boy a better idea of the characteristics of other nations than can be had from the study of geography, history, and languages.

There is no question about this, and since it is true why should we not have a national university? Why is it not a prime necessity for the training of the young men of America? This question has nothing to do with higher education, scholarly attainments, or accomplishments. It has only to do with inculcating those principles which make for the best type of citizenship in a republic, in addition to which, of course, professional men must have their special education and the whole field of the arts and sciences must be covered in just the same way that it is to-day.

The remarkable thing is that, in spite of the carefully determined plan not to have a national university in this country, the United States Government has built up the greatest institution in the world for fitting young men for citizenship in a republic. It has on its roster to-day 57,000 as compared with the less than 35,000 total of the six largest American universities. Its teachers are not theorists (as they must be in many cases in universities), but each one deals with those things which he has done with his own hands and is the leader physically, mentally, and professionally of the men under him. No university, no matter how richly endowed, has a plant or equipment comparable, for its purpose, with that of the Government.

To-day, when a large part of the offensive purpose of the Navy seems likely to be made unnecessary by the closer relations of nations and the higher development of mankind, it is ready to fit into the new order of things and take its place as the greatest national university in the world for the training of citizens of a republic. The young Americans who go into the Navy after about three months preliminary training begin their course of duties as enlisted men. This training lasts four years—exactly as long as the course of an undergraduate in a university—but there are no vacations. Surely no institution teaches patriotism, love, and reverence for the flag and respect for authority as well as the Navy. In none is hygiene and physical development

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made such a matter of routine. In few are such opportunities given for learning a useful trade. And, perhaps best of all, the broadening influence of foreign cruises helps every young man to a better conception of what his own country is and how it should be developed. The two latter features make the Navy a better training-school than the Army.

Those who believe in unlimited arbitration treaties and universal peace and disarmament have entirely lost sight of the unique educational features of the Navy. And they must not think that the same result could be obtained by omitting the military character and having merely a floating university. Just as there can be no patience without pain, or resignation without suffering, there can be no such patriotism or respect for authority as must exist to keep a republic alive, without a martial spirit. This ought to be too axiomatic to any student of history to need argument.

If the people of this country will only study the requirements of citizenship and see how perfectly the Navy trains young men for it, there will be no question as to whether the country needs one or two new battle-ships a year. Familiarity with the subject will convince any one that nothing less than a battle-ship for each State in the Union will begin to satisfy the demands of the situation. Even then it would be possible to train only about 60,000 young men at a time. There is no reason why these young men, who finish their course of enlistment when twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, should stay in the Navy all their lives. The old race of "web-feet" has gone out. We do not to-day need a man trained in the habit of the sea to the extent that he was needed in the days of the old "square-riggers." A navy with a "capital ship" (that is, an all-big-gun ship, which was at first called a "Dreadnought") for every State in the Union and the requisite number of auxiliaries would be the greatest educational institution that could be devised for the young men of the country. The traditions of the United States Navy are a greater inspiration than those of any university in the world. No college graduate can feel toward his *alma mater* as the man who has been a bluejacket or a marine feels about the service. An "honorable discharge" does not mean a knowledge of Latin and Greek as a diploma does, but it *does* mean (according to Navy regulations) "fidelity, obedience, and ability," which very briefly describes a pretty high type of character. The

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"A. B." of the Navy should be a better warrant of the qualifications of good citizenship than the "B. A." of the university.

Think of a national university situated inland, most naturally in some interior State. Imagine it with highly picturesque surroundings and with a great and beautiful building for each State in the Union. Think of it as being equipped to train young men in just the things that the Navy trains them. Yet how incomparably more inspiring are forty-seven battle-ships, and how much better fitted for the service intended! The boy from New England who goes to a university in Massachusetts or Connecticut is apt to have his New England characteristics emphasized. The young man from Florida or South Carolina who goes to a Southern university generally graduates with his feeling for that section of the country increased and not diminished. As an enlisted man, either one of them during the same four years would have served, perhaps, on U.S.S. *Maine,* U.S.S. *Mississippi,* U.S.S. *Utah,* or U.S.S. *California,* with a new affection for each name and a new interest in each State, and he might, coincidently, have seen foreign lands and obtained some knowledge at first hand of two or three different nationalities. It would be quite possible to calculate the difference in the cost of maintenance and replacement of the university buildings and of the units of the fleet, but that difference, considered as an annual contribution to the maintenance of peace for this nation, would be but an almost infinitesimal percentage of the nation's wealth. Unquestionably in times of international unrest such a fleet would often be the factor which would decide for peace. Every year thousands of men who have had at least four years' training in the Navy go back to civil life. Each one is an exponent of the healthful life, good habits, and discipline of the service. The chances are that he influences others and the benefits of naval training are indirectly much more widely spread than the statistics of the Bureau of Navigation would show. It would seem to be a complete answer to the critics of naval expenditure that every dollar that has been spent up to the present time has produced its value in improving the standard of citizenship. Using the word "university" in this broad sense, the greatest national university in the world is the American Navy.

HERBERT L. SATTERLEE.

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APOLOGIA PRO NOVA ANGLIA

BY ARTHUR COLTON.

THOSE who go apart into unrailroaded intervals of New England know well the grassy road, the pasture grown up to scrub, the fallow that has forgotten the plow, the white disconsolate farmhouse with the ell occupied by Latin or Scandinavian, the old gray farmhouse empty, or merely some wayside maple trees and a weedy cellar hole. Our villages that are more than five miles from a station have usually—not always—dropped behind. They look out on the world with faded eyes from the autumn and downward slope of community life. The young men went away, their elders died, this house is empty, that was burned down, and the next harbors the immigrant. "The railroads did it," some say, "and the West"; and others say, "There is a systole and diastole in human epochs."

And if the inquisitive loiterer among quiet hills is himself of New-England Puritan stock and grew up on the edge of Puritanism's long afternoon shadows, he has the further experience of seeing himself in relation to an historic movement. A stage in the spiritual journey of the race has lately been left behind. He feels in his own nature the two pressures, of the Puritan feeling and of the reaction against it. He is of it and yet detached from it. He comes into acquaintance with the great Puritans of the past—Knox, Cromwell, Milton, Bunyan, the New England theologians from Edwards to Bushnell; in memories of his own childhood he recognizes the same tone of thought and feeling, and he is far enough from it to see that the tone was peculiar. Men will always be religious, but history will not repeat itself. No age will ever be "Puritan" again, will ever again look at life in just that way, ever again turn upon it that unforgettable face, or cast in the same set drama of far heaven and surging hell that vision of all

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things and their consummation which Augustine saw before Calvin. And if there has already risen the analogy, that something like which Augustine saw in the drama of souls is now seen in the process of nature, in the birth of myriads that a few may survive, the many called and the few chosen, the analogy is but another glimpse and muffled upheaval of the mystery which underlies all definition.

Of the two most evident forces which have brought—or are bringing—that cultural epoch in New England to an end, one is economic, and comes as an invitation to the young countryman to seek more fertile farmlands, more stirring fortunes; the second is intellectual, and part of a world-wide movement that may yet come to be called "The Second Renaissance." The nineteenth, like the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was an era of horizons suddenly widened, of domains conquered from conjecture and annexed to knowledge, of unsettlement and readjustment in consequence, of awakened energies and a quickened pace. Its speed has made gaps between the generations, made fathers and sons strangers to each other's intellectual life. This generation of New-Englanders feels in its own being "the melancholy long withdrawing roar" of one tide that ebbs, and the rise of another flowing in with power from the deep.

The average man in new countries, or sections of country—and herein lies his attractiveness—is not afraid of life. He is not so because he has not yet been compelled to be, because he does not yet know what it can do to him. In the long run, among massed humanity, life is too strong and beats it down; and this beaten condition becomes an inherited fear. Wherever the pressure of population is felt, the majority learn to know that their safety and refuge against life is their little hole or rut, their bit of property, their business or practice or trade, the set of circumstances into which they have fitted themselves so as to find it possible to get along. They see all around them what it is to be without that refuge, to fall from their narrow niche into the pit that gapes beneath. But in new regions, among manifold demands and possibilities, one becomes versatile, able to do many things well enough for the hurried purposes of the place, instead of one thing extremely well. So that if one undertaking fails, another is not compromised. If a man falls, he rises easily. He can be ruined and laugh, for ruin in a new country is not like ruin in an old country.

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It is quite a different thing. And this buoyancy and indifference to the oppression of life is because the oppressing hand as yet lies lightly. The reason is largely economic. Whoever has something, or is something, for which the demand is greater than the supply, is on the sunny side of the market, and life goes gallantly with him while that condition lasts. In the far West there are still more things to be done than there are men to do them, and this continuing, or only gradually vanishing condition, has, in part at least, given rise to the western type, which characterizes all America against older countries, and the newer parts of America against the older parts. For our freedom and our hope are not governmental. Our form of government is a result rather than a cause. Whether some other form might not have done as well, or whether something like this was the only possible form, we were not made what we are by the Constitution, but by space and opportunity, and changing conditions and diminishing space will remold us to further results. The West clamors for more population, and this clamor is a singular compound. Much of it comes from an interest in real estate and nearer markets. Much is of local pride in the growth of State or city or township. But what it would seem to be at first sight, an altruistic desire that others should come to share the advantage—which advantage is certain to be lost in proportion as they come—this is hardly an element in the clamor at all.

It may still be wise then, in the main of chance, for the young man who has not yet learned to be afraid of life, to go West, provided he goes far enough. He is still somewhat less likely there to be compelled to learn it. Wisely, at least inevitably, he has been going these several generations. Hence it comes that leaves fallen from the maple-trees lie, flaring red with October, here beside so grass-grown a well curb, and far down in the well the water-bugs skate about on the gloomy glimmering surface; that goldenrod and purple asters underbank so deeply the glassless windows and hide the foundations of the gray old house.

"Why is it that we stray
Around that sunken sill?
They are all gone away;

"And our poor fancy's play
For them is wasted skill;
There is nothing more to say."

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It is wasted for them. But for his own purposes one may use whatever fancy he finds significant, and may find it useful to imagine a voice flying westward from this land of lonely hillsides and autumnal beauty, saying to whom it may concern: "I have given my best for your upbuilding. I have stripped my hearths for you. The brain and courage that made you was mine. And you hold up your strength against me for a reproach!"

How closely silence pursues the footsteps and conversations of men is seen in grass-grown cellar holes better than in those Roman burial urns into which oblivion dropped her poppy a millennium and a half ago, and upon which Sir Thomas Browne wrote an essay full of quaint considerations and solemn harmonies. He remarked how the iniquity of this oblivion "deals with the memory of man without distinction to merit of perpetuity. Twenty-seven names make up the first story before the Flood, and the recorded names ever since make up not one living century." But let the roof of an abandoned farmhouse in New England have fallen in as little as fifty years back and you may inquire vainly for their names who sunned themselves in its doorway.

The American traveler in England has drawn inferences slighting to his countrymen from the solid masonry he saw there. Emerson, Hawthorne, and Burroughs have exclaimed at its bridges and walls. How massive and enduring! As men build, so they are! The Englishman is solid and trustworthy, and could not put up with our flimsy structures. But if further travel leads to the discovery that the Frenchman and Italian build their bridges as solidly as the Englishman, if not more so; that the house walls in Paris and Rome are, if anything, more solid than in London; that the fickle Athenian set more stalwart columns about his temples than the conservative Roman; that the Egyptian and Etruscan built more solidly than either the Greek or Roman, and mainly for the reason that they did not know so much about architecture; it seems to follow that the inference of the distinguished travelers was a hasty one.

Our ways of building, the wooden country house, the steel-framed city, have their own philosophy. The Roman masonry and the steel frame have much in common—some-

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thing in appearance and more in the spirit behind them—a certain sense of the command of physical resources, a scorn of difficulty, a ruthless efficiency to the end in view, distinct in both and less evident in the constructions of intermediate times. The stalking arches of the Claudian Aqueduct and the bridges that leap from Manhattan to Brooklyn express a like virility and speak with the same accent. Our farmhouse walls are ephemeral mainly for the not very significant reason that wood is abundant, makes a warm enclosure against biting winters, and decays when no longer cared for; yet it is not a meaningless fact, nor without relations, that with us the life of a house is as the life of a man, some threescore years and ten, unless by reason of strength it be more. The fact has its significance, but it does not signify that the spirit of the builder was itself built of slight materials.

One of the long, slow social changes of the race has been the merging of small compact groups into larger and looser groups, the emerging of the individual from the looser organization, and the stronger emphasis put upon the rights of individuals as distinct from the needs of the group. The American, in particular, is little apt to think of his personality either as absorbed in his nation, or as a momentary ripple in the stream of his race and on the endless tide of life. Something in his blood persuades him of an independent value. "Masses!" cries Emerson, voicing the deeper sense of his age and people; "the calamity is the masses!" Let us have persons! Let the unit be the person, not the class, caste, type, tribe, nor even the family. For if there is a divinity resident among us, its abiding-place is separately in the soul of each man apart, and there, if anywhere, is the inner temple. There is more direct divinity in one man's secret aspiration than in all the long fugue of history. If, then, on this side of the Atlantic there is a more distinct tendency for a man to stand by himself, to some extent as regards his own generation, and more so with respect to the generations before him, it shows us—no less than our larger and looser grouping shows us—so far to be in the vanguard of change. Among the Breton peoples, says Renan, life is not "a personal adventure, undertaken by each man on his own account, and at his own risks and perils; it is a link in a long chain, a gift received and handed on, a debt paid and a duty done." Among us there is some-

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thing of a tendency to regard life as precisely that "personal adventure," a tendency which, applied to house-building, might take the form of the question, "Why build a house to outlast my time and hamper my descendants with the refuse of me? Each generation has a right to its own period. Let it build its own walls, and face its own issues with a present valor."

Cardinal Newman distinguished two types of minds, "the Catholic and the Puritan, to one of which the visible and invisible are only two different aspects of one great reality, while to the other they stand apart as sundered if not antagonistic"; and whatever doubt there may be of the soundness of the distinction so stated, it is certain that the Puritan set the invisible at a bleak distance above the visible, as well as made his own search after the invisible a personal adventure, compared with which a westward voyage over wintry seas to an uncharted coast may easily have seemed like a trip from the fireside to the cupboard. He saw his own soul less as having part in an institutional or associate salvation, than, as Wordsworth saw the mind of Newton, "voyaging through strange seas—alone." So that, if, feeling each life to be isolated and distinct, his instinct in house-building was not for permanence; if he was content to render to the earth all things that belonged to the earth, to leave his habitation, like his body, to a swift decay—a depression only where the one had stood, a low mound where the other had been laid beneath; it was surely not a trivial way of conceiving the matter.

I once shocked a Southern lady, unintentionally, by saying that I was a "Yankee" and she was so good as to deny it with indignation. For it appeared on inquiry that "Yankee," to her mind, was not—at least was not any longer—exactly identical with Northerner or New-Englander, but meant some kind of a tricky, pushing, and rather vulgar person. Even so, the situation seemed a little depressing.

The word "Yankee" is not, however, in general usage altogether a term of reproach. Apart from reproach, it appears in Europe to mean any one from the States, in the South any one from the North, and in the North any one from New England; while, on the other hand, the man born and bred in New England is puzzled when he considers this

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imaginary type of his native land, this conception which seems to be connoted or described by the word "Yankee" —is puzzled because it has little or no resemblance to the New-Englander as he knows or once knew him. It is not an unattractive type in its own way, and it is found in New England, as elsewhere, but it is no more like the old New-England farmer than like the Southern planter or Western ranchman. It smacks no more of the hay-field than of the cotton-field or the range. It is not a rural type at all, but a trader. It reminds one most of a commercial traveler. The rural New-Englander, loosely generalized from observation, has the stamp of the country—that is, he is, or was of old, a slow man, of reluctant speech, fixed in character, reserved in opinion, by no means inquisitive, and as the world goes singularly honest; but the imaginary "*Yankee*" seems to be, to some extent, the opposite of all these. Nor has he the features of the Puritan. Where did he come from?

If he could be shown to have for his chief if not "only begetter" one who was, in fact, a commercial traveler, and no other than the traveling peddler of old days, the puzzle might be explained.

By reason of its denser population in a country of more limited arable land, its rigorous climate, abundant water power and innumerable harbors, New England developed manufactures on the whole somewhat earlier and more variously than other sections. There being no other means of transport to the inland and remote consumer, the smaller products of these industries were carried by peddlers, foot and horseback and wagon. The Yankee peddler went wherever a road went. Alabama, the Pennsylvania frontier and such distant interiors knew him, which knew no other New-Englander. He had the habits and characteristics bred of his business. He was quick, talkative, tricky, humorous; his daily and hourly life was guile and gossip, penny and profit, pertinacity and push. How should a planter know that the man at his door was the product of an occupation rather than of a locality, and as far from the type of Everett and Emerson as it was from the type of Calhoun and Lee?

The genius of New England found its best expression in its literature. Whatever "Yankee" may mean, the New-Englander, who still speaks with the voice of that literature, was a man more intellectual than emotional, more original than intense, more refined than rugged, less profound in

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his passions than passionate for ideas, a lover of justice and knowledge, a clear and forgetive intelligence, that often brooded and dreamed, but more often turned a keen, often a troubled face home to the need of things, one to whom ideals were things.

According to Thomson's "Seasons," the English autumn has a subdued and brooding personality.

> "Fading, many colored woods,
> Shade deepening over shade, the country round
> Imbrown; a crowded umbrage, dusk and dun,
> Of every hue from wan declining green
> To sooty dark—a sober calm
> Fleeces unbounded ether—clouds imbibe the sun,
> And through their lucid veil his softened force
> Shed o'er the peaceful earth."

Such are not our Octobers among the hills. The spirit of New England is never keener than then, the year never more daring and full of inventions than in the early days of its decline. It is as if a man well past his climacteric should suddenly discover that existence was more than ever a vivacious and sparkling affair; should set out with a springing stride, in a military garb of scarlet, gold, and blue, to infect the world with his gusto; and so pass on blowing his requiem on a bugle, and proclaiming that he would die as gladly as he has lived, and lay him down with a will in the faith that death also is an act of energy.

Goldenrod and purple asters fringe the grassy road, and opulently bury the foundations of the abandoned house. The maple-trees in front of it are ablaze with red and yellow. The winds have in them no sound of languor or regret, but are full of piping business. Cardinal flowers, single and self-sufficient, stand by small tempestuous streams.

But "life and thought have gone away" from the gray old house; its foundations are sunken, its roof subdued.

> "They are all gone away,
> The house is shut and still,
> There is nothing more to say";

only to wish them well, whom Roger Williams called "the people of God, wherever scattered about Babel's banks."

ARTHUR COLTON.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

RECOLLECTIONS GRAVE AND GAY. By Mrs. BURTON HARRISON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

MRS. HARRISON has gathered up, in a very entertaining form, a series of recollections, for the most part of considerable historical value, which she justly describes as "grave and gay,"—grave, because she was, from start to finish, in the thick of the Civil War—gay, because even those terrible scenes could not always repress the cavalier spirit of the Southerners. In her youth she was intimate with people who were as familiar with the traditions of Mount Vernon, Arlington, Monticello, and Belvoir as with those of their own homes. Much of her early life was passed at Vaucluse, a Fairfax homestead, not far from Alexandria. This was a typical Virginian mansion, which received an endless procession of cousins and aunts; the stalls accommodated their horses; the slave-quarters their attendants; and "nobody ventured to think that any one was inconvenienced." Here our authoress led the life of an adventurous little Virginia girl of that period—sometimes curled up in an alcove reading *Sir Roger de Coverley* or *Gulliver's Travels;* but more often out-of-doors scouring the woods, climbing trees, riding horses to water, wading the streams, or picking wild flowers. This life was varied by visits to Washington in the family coach; and she recalls that on these journeys her mother and grandmother loved to discuss "the latest doings of Queen Victoria's Court." Was she influenced by inherited veneration in the scene with the Prince of Wales at Mount Vernon? "I had the glory," she says, "of standing by a box hedge in the garden, and presenting to his Royal Highness a basket of flowers picked from bushes traditionally said to have been planted by Mrs. Washington."

War was declared, and as Vaucluse was in the path of the Federal army, her grandmother and mother decided to take refuge with the Confederates near Manassas. Their first act was to bury the family silver in the cellar. The house was afterward burned, its site became a Federal camp, but the presence of the silver was not discovered. After the war, when dug up, it was found to be as black as the old negro who had assisted, four years before, in hiding it.

As soon as the little party of refugees arrived at a place of safety near the Confederate army, the life of vivid contrasts began. "We drove to several impromptu entertainments at Camp Pickens," Mrs. Harrison records of this time: "there dinners were cooked and served to us by our soldier lads, spread on rough boards, eaten out of tin plates and cups, amid such a storm of rollicking gayety and high hope that war seemed a merry pastime." A week later, the battle having been fought, Miss Cary, as she

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then was, accompanied by a party on horseback, rode over the field, "between hillsides piled with hecatombs of dead horses and scattered with hasty graves."

Her mother was anxious for her to return to her school-books as more suited to her immature years. "Alas, it was war-time!" exclaims Mrs. Harrison. "I had already tasted the sweets of emancipation; the woods were full of handsome and delightful officers and privates eager to be entertained and heartened to the fray." She and her beautiful cousins, Hetty and Jenny Cary, of Baltimore, were soon busy with providing the Confederates with flags and a new "Marseillaise." The air was that of the famous "My Maryland." It was reported at the time that the flag which each of the young ladies sent to a favorite general was made of her own dress. This Mrs. Harrison denies. Her flag, which was presented to General Van Dorn, passed through many battles, and, torn by bullets and stained by the weather, is now preserved in her home in Washington.

In the winter of 1862, Mrs. Cary and her daughter, accompanied by the charming cousins, took refuge with an uncle in Richmond. Here the life at Manassas—only more startling in its contrasts—was resumed. "Several times," she says, "we gave suppers, to which we contributed only a roast turkey, a ham, and some loaves of bread, with plates, knives, and forks. It was an amusing sight to see a major-general come in hugging a bottle of brandied peaches, and a member of Congress carrying his quota of sardines and French prunes." Then followed the battle of Seven Pines which gave the other side of the shield. "The first guns sent our hearts into our mouths like a sudden loud knocking at one's door at night. . . . No one wept or moaned aloud. All were about their task of preparing for the wounded, making bandages, scraping lint, improvising beds."

The sounds and sights of the city are vividly presented. "The tramp of rusty battalions, the short imperious stroke of the alarm bell, the clash of passing bands, the gallop of horsemen, the roar of battle, the moan of hospitals, the stifled note of sorrow." Inevitably, the fearful tension was followed by moments of complete relaxation. "Night after night," writes a friend to Mrs. Harrison, "I galloped into town to attend dances, charades, what not, and I did not get back to camp until two, three—what matter the hour!" Many of these gallants did not survive to tell the tale of their short-lived happiness, as the following shows: "Ellis Munford was killed at Malvern Hill and was brought home in the dusk of the evening, lying across his own caisson, and delivered to his own family, sitting, all unconscious of their loss, upon the steps of their dwelling, seeking the cooler temperature that falls after dark in a Southern summer."

This life of feverish comedy and terrible tragedy only came to an end with the evacuation of the city by the Confederate forces.

MEMORIES OF TWO WARS, CUBAN AND PHILIPPINE EXPERIENCES. By GENERAL FREDERICK FUNSTON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

THE adventures described by General Funston smack more of the irresponsible imaginings of De Foe and Stevenson than of the unvarnished

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and unembroidered record of a modern soldier. This epitome of stirring memories of two wars may not possess the consummate literary finish of *Captain Singleton* or *Kidnapped,* but it is as full of romantic scenes, and of as many "hairbreadth 'scapes," by field at least, as either of those well-known tales of sanguinary daring. The pirate has been driven from the sea, and the freebooter from the land—Kidd and Blackbeard no longer lie in wait along any coast, and Rob Roy has retreated for good into his Highland cave—and yet this volume with its extraordinary wealth of wild incident in tropical countries proves that our own times are far from lacking in those dangerous situations, and those dramatic characters, which the great novelists have seized upon to vivify their pages.

The most interesting portion of General Funston's recollections is devoted to his Cuban career. Here is reflected in full the reckless spirit which animated the vagabond filibusters who followed Walker in Nicaragua. As a youthful volunteer with the Cuban guerillas, he threw himself into the sharp hostilities of those hide-and-seek campaigns with all the ardor of one who loves danger for danger's sake alone. He was not impelled by patriotism, or by desire for his wage, or even by a natural aspiration for military promotion. It was this spirit in him which looked upon adventure as an ample reward in itself that gives a high degree of fascination to the narrative of those Cuban experiences, which is not so conspicuous in the account of the more regular fighting in the Philippines, though varied by such a sensational episode as the capture of Aguinaldo. We seem to be carried back to another century, when the fighting man was closer to the uncivilized man than he is to-day; but for that very reason, we obtain an impression of such romantic freshness as few books recounting military adventures of our own times are able to convey.

Social Forces in American History. By A. M. Simons. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911.

There are two statements in Mr. Simons's preface which raise high expectations in the reader—he informs us that he has devoted ten years to the preparation of this volume; and that it is based upon original research. A work springing from such prolonged reflection, and illumined from the original sources, should possess an uncommon merit.

But no such claim can be advanced for this work. Mr. Simons is very much in the condition of Mr. Dick in *David Copperfield*—it is evident that he has not turned a single page of American history without expecting the head of the capitalist to pop in—the undissevered head, unfortunately, as he seems to think—and if not there already, he drags it in. It is not a history which he has written, as his title would indicate, but an argumentative, *ex-parte* pamphlet, sometimes ingenious, almost always violent, in which he has gathered up all the facts that he thinks confirm his assertion that the annals of the United States constitute but a continuous crime against the rights of labor. Periods in which laboring men are supposed to have enjoyed equal opportunities for advancement are held up as particularly odious for tyranny to that section of the community. There has been an impression abroad that this country, even in Colonial times, was a harbor for the oppressed of all lands, high

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and low, but especially for those persons who have to make their way with their bare and empty hands. Mr. Simons endeavors to dispel this comfortable impression.

According to him, the Revolution was simply "a violent upheaval of society, by which the capitalist class overthrew feudalism." The Constitution was suggested and framed by "a band of conspirators" merely to promote the welfare of that class. When the Constitution had been once adopted, the merchants, manufacturers, and bankers threw overboard the Southern planters, who had united with them in drafting it, and, led by Hamilton, enacted the measures relating to the tariff, the national debt, and the national bank which were to establish the supremacy of their interests without regard to the interests of the community as a whole. The controlling class at this time was really the merchants, since the bankers and the manufacturers were as yet comparatively unimportant.

It was not until after the War of 1812-15 that the tariff began to swell abnormally the income of the manufacturer. For a time, says Mr. Simons, he wrested possession of the "governmental machine" from the merchant; but his hand was gradually unloosed by the Southern chattel slaveholder, who, when forced in his turn to relax his grasp, seceded. As soon as the Southerner left the Union, the manufacturer again acquired control of the central government, and has kept it down to the present time. But there are, according to Mr. Simons, portents in the political sky that he will, for the second time, have to give way. The laborite, like the merchant, the manufacturer, and the slaveholder before him, is fighting fiercely for political power—*i. e.*, for the possession of the government at Washington. Mr. Simons predicts that he will succeed in this contest. "All other classes," he remarks, "have gained power only as they have persuaded, bribed, or terrorized workers into fighting or voting for them. Now that the working class is fighting its own battles, there is no possibility of defeat."

SERVING THE REPUBLIC. MEMOIRS OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY LIFE OF NELSON A. MILES, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911.

A MAN who could, in real warfare, without any previous training at a military school, win a colonelcy at twenty-three, and a generalship of division—temporary, it is true—at twenty-five, has no reason to apologize for publishing his autobiography.

General Miles has described, with the frankness and simplicity becoming a soldier, the events of his distinguished life. In spirit he is optimistic, kindly, liberal, and intensely patriotic—sometimes more than generous to individuals, and always never less than fair to sections, even when touching subjects of bitter controversy. Although he was designed for mercantile pursuits, his military training began at his majority with a lieutenancy, and at middle age ended with the incumbency of the great office of commander-in-chief of the Federal army. As the Civil War was his first experience of active hostilities, it would have been natural had he given it a disproportionate importance in his reminiscences. Recognizing that a full account of the battles he participated in would be, in substance, a mere repetition, and being apparently unwilling to confine

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his recollections to details entirely personal to himself, he exhibited excellent judgment in restricting the space devoted to this part of his military career.

The most valuable part of his work is taken up with his achievements as an Indian-fighter. The narrative here is quite properly very full. When ordered to the West in 1869, as commander of the Fifth United States Infantry, the Indians were practically in complete possession of the vast area of country lying east of the Rockies, which embraced some 600,000 square miles. When he was transferred to Governors Island many years afterward, that fertile region had, as a whole, been rescued from the aboriginal marauders who had so long overrun and terrorized it, and thrown open to permanent white settlement. "Between the home-builders and the home-destroyers," he says, "our little army had been placed, and by its constant watchfulness and splendid services peace and security had been established."

It was largely due to General Miles's talents as a soldier, and to his conciliatory spirit as a negotiator, that this happy condition had been brought about.

FRANZ LIZST. By JAMES HUNEKER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

This study of Lizst and of his work is neither exhaustive and thorough, nor has it the distinguishing incisiveness of a carefully written monograph. It is rather like a collection of hastily written notes thrown together than a constructed book.

There are pronouns running about the page without antecedents. There are sentences like the following:

"But he, the darling of the gods, fortune fairly pursuing him from cradle to grave, nevertheless the existence of this genius was far from happy."

Whatever became of "he" at the beginning of the sentence is never divulged.

There is no consistency at all about the translations. Sometimes quotations are given in the original or a paragraph is written in a hodge-podge of various languages; again so familiar a bit as Francesca's speech:

> "nessun maggior dolore
> Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
> Nella miseria,"

is given in a very bad translation only. For dignity, restraint, scholarship, and care we may always search Mr. Huneker's work in vain. He is, however, one of the most broadly read men in America to-day and has a wide knowledge and ready acquaintance with the seven arts. He is often brilliantly clever as to phrase-making and he has flashes of insight. Nothing could be more to the point than his complaint that the music of Lizst, Wagner, and Berlioz, all three, suffers from *an excess of profile*. He continues to use the barbarous phrase "he stems from," probably an attempt at rendering the German *stammt her*.

The best parts of the book are the careful analysis of the B-Minor

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Sonata, some of the symphonic poems and the Études. As a piece of finished work the book cannot compare with the earlier study of Chopin, but it contains good enough material to be rewritten and amplified at some later time.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ITALIAN ART. By SELWYN BRINTON, M.A. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911. Third edition.

Whoever would understand the significance of the Renaissance Movement in Italian Art turns first to Pater and Symonds and possesses himself of all of Mr. Berenson's monographs. As a compendium these nine attractive small volumes are invaluable. They are beautifully bound and printed, and amply supplied with photogravure illustrations and a separate analysis, for reference, of artists and their works. In the matter of attributions the volumes might well be brought more up-to-date. The paintings of *The Life and Death of St. Francis* in the upper Church of Assisi are still ascribed to Giotto, although they are now pretty definitely proven to be school pictures; while the great frescoes of the Arena Chapel in Padua are set down as of secondary importance. These are matters to be settled only by experts, and beyond knowing the state of the discussion they mean little to the average student. These volumes are full of information, poetic and able description, and they form a most excellent and readable work on that most fascinating of subjects, the Art of the Renaissance.

The author has some amateurish tricks of writing, such as beginning a paragraph with an unnecessary and unrelated particle, but in the main the work has proven its value by three reprintings and deserves being called to the attention of all students of Renaissance Art.

WILLIAM JAMES AND OTHER ESSAYS. By JOSIAH ROYCE, LL.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911.

This volume by Professor Royce contains five essays, of which the first is really the least important and the last two are the best exposition of Dr. Royce's philosophical idealism, as he calls it; but which might also be described as his philosophical brief for dogmatic theology.

Professor Royce sets Dr. James, as a philosophical thinker, in direct natural succession to Jonathan Edwards and Emerson. He analyzes him as typically an American; no disciple of Greece or the Orient, still less of Germany or England, but one whose thought, emotion, and speech are the natural product of American soil. He is also the successor to the storm-and-stress period, and heir to the second great period of evolutionary thought—namely, to that period when thinkers no longer discuss, but simply accept the notion of the natural origin of organic forms and continuity of the processes of development. Professor Royce points out James's turning from the Old World types of reverence and external forms of the Church, as well as his alienation from the barren and hostile free-thinking by many European philosophies. James's ready and inclusive comprehension of all the types of religious experience, Dr. Royce sets down to his democratic training. That this inclusion should seem unsatisfactory to our author is a fore-

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gone conclusion to those who know Dr. Royce's philosophy. "The spirit triumphs," he says, "not by destroying the chaos James describes, but by brooding upon the face of the deep till the light comes, and with light, order."

The second essay, "Loyalty and Insight," serves excellently to introduce Professor Royce's continuing tenet; namely that having chosen a belief, a profession, a theory, we get the value of choice only by consistent adherence or loyalty. Loyalty, he urges, binds men together and induces the separate wills in the business firm, the household, the profession, the spiritual community, to unite and be woven into one so that our fortunes and interests are no longer detached and individual but have the force of a social group. "The whole moral law can be summed up in the two commandments: first, be loyal; and, second, so choose, so serve, and so unify that life-cause to which you yourself are loyal that, through your choice, through your service, through your example, and through your dealings with all men, you may, as far as in you lies, help other people to be loyal to their causes."

To a student unversed in Professor Royce's work, the essay on "What is Vital in Christianity" will bring a momentary shock of surprise, when he finds that not the historic Christ, not the human example, and most assuredly not the direct teachings of Christ are what the author conceives as vital, but the ecclesiastical dogmas of the incarnation and atonement. There is the time-honored attempt to account for an evil world as the product of an omnipotent and perfect God, by our fragmentary perceptions of world-processes and the doctrine that perfection is only reached through pain. Of course the eternally recurrent reply is, that if our world is even a fragment of the divine it should partake of the nature of the Whole. Must not the part be the same *in kind* as the whole? But this question Professor Royce does not touch. "Like the Logos," he says, "the entire world is not only with God but is God."

The fourth essay, on "The Problem of Truth in the Light of Recent Discussion," was an address delivered before the International Congress of Philosophy, at Heidelberg, 1908. Of course this essay attempts a refutation of the pragmatist contention that truth is relative; namely the relation of the less fixed parts of our experience to the more fixed parts. Dr. Royce accounts for the pragmatist's theory by three modern tendencies or motives. The first, that motive which leads many of us to describe human life altogether as a more or less progressive adaptation to natural environment. The second is the motive glorified by Nietzsche, the attempt to be self-possessed and inwardly free, and unsubmissive to any external authority. The third is the motive which leads us to seek for clear, exact self-consciousness regarding the principles of our belief and conduct. The natural result of these three controlling motives is, thinks Professor Royce, a relativistic, evolutionary theory of truth; a theory that transforms truth from a barren repetition of dead reality to the self-created, empirical realities of our successful activities. Those who know "The World and the Individual" also know the reply to this: that truth can be measured by no one man's experience and that in order to cope with it at all there must be a spirit which is more than any man's transient consciousness of his own efforts unless there is unity of experience, an unity objective, real, supra-temporal.

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What this spirit is, one may best tell by quoting from essay V, on Immortality, the definition of God:

"I mean by the term God, the totality of the expressions and life of the world—will, when considered in its conscious unity. God is a consciousness which knows and which intends the entire life of the world." Here one has come around again to the same point in the circle. Why are the fragments of the whole evil if the whole itself is good? One cannot but wish that Dr. Royce had brought in the mystic doctrine of unification; namely that as consciousness throws off its personal limits, as the fragment *does* identify itself with the whole there is resultant joy and good. The sense of separateness is the world's great woe.

From the standpoint of lucidity, since these lectures are admittedly popular, one wishes that Dr. Royce were occasionally more terse and willing to emphasize by repetition. It is annoying to the reader to find his author saying, "I will now state the third motive" and then be obliged to read thirteen pages before that motive is mentioned, holding the mind meantime in suspense. A statement made at the beginning and repeated after the exposition would have bettered the style and been most helpful to the reader.

THE QUAKERS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES. By RUFUS M. JONES. Assisted by ISAAC SHARPLESS and AMELIA M. GUMMERE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911.

The name of Rufus M. Jones stands for the quality in writing most needed in American literature. It necessarily means thorough scholarship, careful and dignified writing, and permanent work. Two years ago Rufus Jones published an invaluable contribution to the history of mystic philosophy in his *Studies in Mystical Religion*. That book contained studies that reached from the mystic element in primitive Christianity, studied chiefly in Paul and John and the early Church Fathers; passed through the various outbreaks of mystical emotion in the Waldenses, the Franciscans, the sect of the New Spirit, the various Brotherhoods of the thirteenth century, the Friends of God (a most excellent study), the Brethren of the Common Life, the Anabaptists, the Seekers and Ranters; and ended with George Fox and other individual mystics of the seventeenth century.

The present volume begins where the last one ended. The mystics of the later centuries have been of a totally different type from the mystics who, in passionate search for enlargement of consciousness, chose a negative path. The practical, militant English character furnished the type of the Quaker fellowship treated in the new volume.

Although in the last analysis Professor Jones admits that religion is a personal matter, he always emphasizes that one cut loose from social interests, isolated from the purposes and strivings of his fellows, cannot become a personality at all. It is the part of the saint, the religious superman, to combine the two interests, to keep ever before him the vision of the Church Invisible while he labors in the necessary politics of the Church Militant. The Quakers have always been shy of the word "saint," "but almost every meeting from Maine to South Carolina had," writes the author, "some persons who through help from Above

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refined and sublimated their natures and all unconsciously grew sweet and fragrant with the odor of saintly life." The real glory of the Quaker movement the author takes to be that "leveling up of an entire community." Messages of spiritual power were brought on meeting-days by farmers with rough hands that had just let go of the plow-handle; women with but little chance at culture, by some subtle spiritual alchemy, were transformed into saintliness. The movement was a real experiment in the priesthood of believers, the forerunner of one of the great spiritualistic forces of our country—the unordained lay ministry.

If the Quaker movement developed saints in a rough pioneer community, it also developed some of the hardiest and stanchest martyrs known to history. Indeed, the early history of Quakerdom is a recital of adventure, dauntless acceptance of cruelty in the cause of conversion, rarely equaled.

The more limited subject of this book makes it less generally appealing than the *Studies in Mystical Religion,* but to those interested in the early religious history of our country and in the course of Quakerism it is an invaluable study.

THE SOUL OF AN INDIAN. By CHARLES A. EASTMAN. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

In these latter days, when circus-poster adjectives in huge type are lavishly plastered over advertising pages which announce juvenile experiments at story-writing as "Great Novels," which characterize swashbuckling valentines in cloth covers as worthy successors to the works of Dumas, which hail as epoch-making dramas crude, undeveloped playlets such as draw tears of pity from the judicious—in these latter days of bargain-counter "literature" it behooves one to be careful in calling attention to a new book that is written and published with serious intent.

Bearing this in mind, therefore, it may be said deliberately that in his latest volume, *The Soul of An Indian,* Dr. Charles A. Eastman has accomplished successfully the most remarkable study of his own people—the North American Indians—that has ever been published anywhere, at any time. It is more than a study; it is an interpretation of Indian life, habits, customs, before the Indian came in contact with the whites; it is a revelation of the spiritual life of the Indian, as he was originally, which shows him in constant effort to "walk with God," as truly, in his own way, as the ancient Hebrews tried to "walk with God" in their way. There are differences, of course; the Indian, for example, spoke of the Creative Power of the Universe as "the Great Mystery." So wonderful, so sacred, so infinite, was the Great Mystery, that the Indian, with innate wisdom, never tried to define it, even to understand it, knowing far better than some of his white brethren the limits of human understanding.

The foundation of the Indian's entire life was his belief in, his worship of, the Great Mystery, which pervaded the world, whispering messages of peace, comfort, courage, in the rustling of leaves in tall treetops, singing joyously in the music of waterfall and rushing brook,

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uttering warning notes in storm and tempest. From babyhood the Indian mother taught her child to listen to the Voice of the Great Mystery, to learn therefrom the lesson of silent reflection, of self-control in everything, and to pray at all times, especially when in doubt or trouble; prayers which were not spoken aloud, but which were felt in the heart and expressed outwardly by attitude alone.

How this dependence upon the Great Mystery became to the Indian a very real part of his entire life is explained by the author. It was present in childhood, in youth, in marriage, in the hunt, and in the occasional wars. The physical training of young braves, the care with which maidens were guarded, the systematic, enlightened, successful training which resulted in subordinating the body to the soul are told so directly, so simply, so thoroughly as to carry conviction to the reader.

It appears from this book that while the Indian accepted without question the reality of the Great Mystery, he had no accompanying theological beliefs, no Christianity as taught by the Churches, no Buddhism, no Mohammedanism or Confucianism. He was a child of Nature; and to him Nature and God were synonymous, identical.

None but an Indian could have written this book; and Dr. Eastman, besides being an Indian chief (*Ohiyesa,* is his real name, meaning "the winner"), possesses collegiate and university training of high order. It is a page of human history possessing telescopic power of revelation. Nothing like it has ever been written. In all probability no other man could have written it, and logically no other man in future could write it—for the Indian of Ohiyesa's childhood and youth has wholly vanished from the stage of human life, never to return.

In addition to its value to history in general, to ethnology in particular, *The Soul of An Indian* is written with poetic beauty far more true and sincere than if it resulted from studied effort. This little book, published by Houghton Mifflin Company, can claim a place among the few volumes which thoughtful men and women set apart from others to cherish and reread, from time to time, as a source of lasting inspiration.

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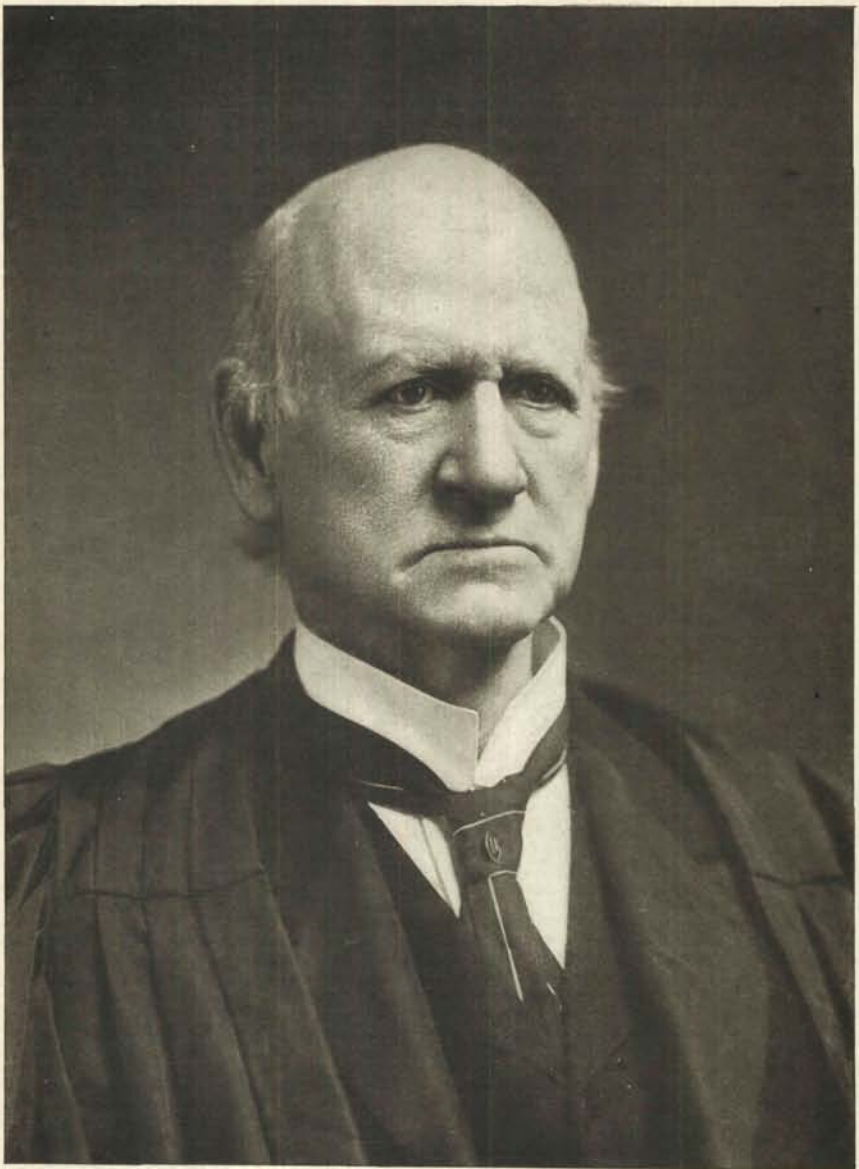

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